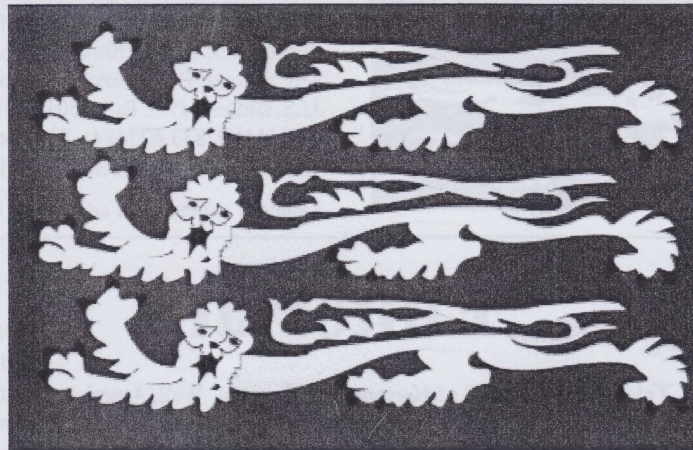


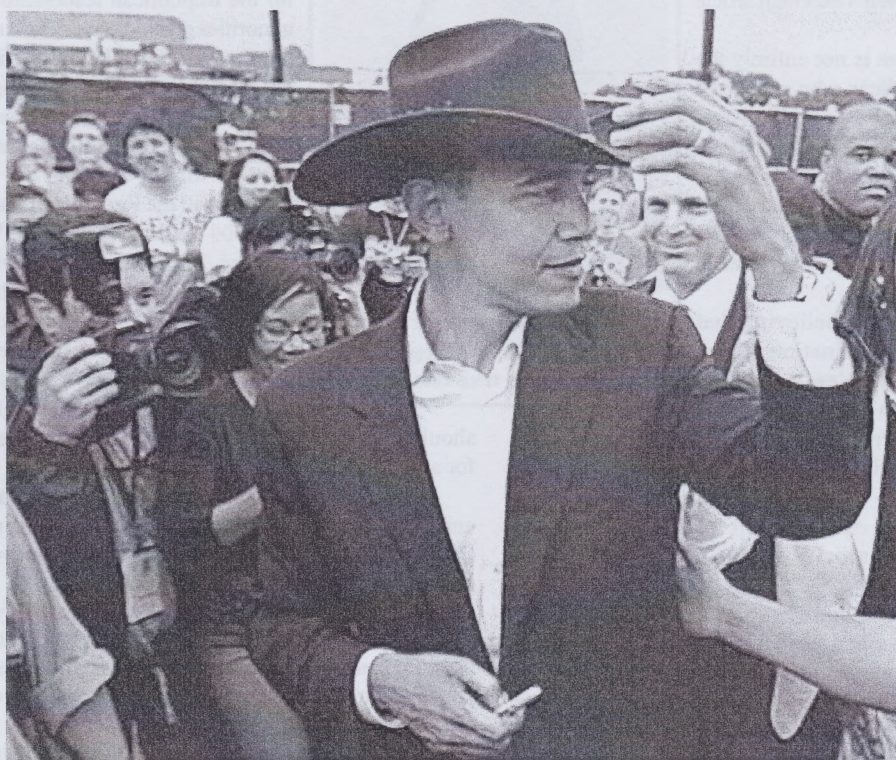
Heritage and Destiny



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Stand Men of the West - Today is the day we fight!

January-March 2009



The point of no return?

From Reagan to Obama in twenty years - page 8



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Carto and The
American Far
Right* reviewed
on page 6



and Victory for
Exactitude as
Töben wins
London court
case- see page 11



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Editorial

Welcome to Issue 35 of *Heritage and Destiny*. Well, American voters just made a massive collective blunder on November 4th, 2008 by electing the first Black president of the USA. Now all of us - both sides of the pond - must suffer, for at least four years.

Since the States - like olde blighty - is a democracy (well a Republic anyway) it allows everyone - regardless of how stupid or ignorant - to cast a vote, this means that everyone must pay when the "majority" make a colossally bad choice for president (See Gil Caldwell's excellent article on pages 8-9).

The election of Barack Obama is not entirely the fault of the liberals. Every Republican who supported the Iraq War and especially anyone who actually voted for McCain in the Republican primaries deserves to spend the next four years in one of America's lovely inner-city neighbourhoods - such as DC's Anacostia - living right next door to an African-American welfare family. These pro-McCain Republicans deserve everything they will get.

Frankly, I have a very hard time believing that McCain honestly won the GOP nomination. There were huge signs of voter fraud in the New Hampshire primary, which have since been swept under the carpet. On "Super Tuesday", I strongly suspect Diebold programmers working for the Neocons gave a victory to McCain. I cannot seriously believe that a man who was 100% wrong on the issue of immigration, and who tried to shove through an Amnesty Bill for 20 million illegal aliens, could possibly get a majority of the vote from White "conservatives" in the GOP primary.

There were three big issues in the 2008 election: the illegal war in Iraq, the problem of illegal immigration and the economy. In the last month before the election, the economy moved from a not very serious issue to a critical issue as the stock market started to plunge. The only Republican who was on the right side of all three issues was Congressman Ron Paul (or whom a number of *H&D* subscribers campaigned for).



Sam Francis, whose prophecy about the "stupid" Republican Party came true this year

If the GOP could have freed itself from the clutches of the Zionist Neocons, who have literally driven the party to its own destruction, they might have won the election. The vast majority of Americans see the Iraq war as unjustified, illegal and unnecessary. McCain however went up there and gave a pro-war speech in every single debate convincing millions of Americans that he was an out-of-touch, insane, senile warmonger. When Obama used the word "Change" most Americans interpreted this as getting the US out of Iraq.

Another important lesson for the GOP is that 96% of Blacks and 78% of Latinos voted Democrat in the 2008 presidential election. It is positively insane for the Republican leadership to keep sucking up to minorities given these election results. If they promised to eliminate for all time, Affirmative Action, racial quotas and stop all immigration from the Third World (as David Duke did when he ran for office), they could have won enough White votes from the Democratic Party to win the election.

So will the Republican Party learn anything from the 2008 election? I doubt it. Will they finally throw out the Zionist neocons, who have led them to destruction? I doubt it. Will they quit running crazy, senile liberal Republicans like Bob Dole and John McCain? I doubt it. As the late great Dr. Sam Francis said, "the Republican Party should really be called the Stupid Party". He was right. American racialists

should form a new nationalist party and forget the Stupid Party once and for all

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40 Years of the National Front - Part VI

Since its creation in 1967 the National Front was constantly assailed by charges that it was a "nazi" party. As most Britons of voting age during the 1960s and 1970s had experienced the Second World War and the events of that period were still a matter of raw memory rather than historical perspective, this proved a potent weapon, not least because it helped to promote internal divisions within the Front.

As chronicled earlier in this series, NF dissidents regularly argued that anyone with a pro-"nazi" past should be purged from the party, though such factions (then as now) often suffered from a selective memory. More serious than the calls for a cosmetic clean-up of the party's ranks were those who examined pre-war nationalist ideology and claimed to discern a point at which nationalist movements in Europe had taken a wrong turning.

With Britain's manufacturing industry in its death throes and the Labour Party losing its traditional political ties to the white working class, some younger members of the NF began to look at the ideas of two brothers who had been dissident members of the National Socialist Party: Gregor and Otto Strasser. If any ideology united the young activists who took over the National Front from Martin Webster at the end of 1983, it was Strasserism.

The Strasser brothers led the National Socialist Party in Berlin during the late 1920s. Seeking to split the party, the leading conservative Gen. Kurt von Schleicher offered Gregor Strasser the position of vice-chancellor at the end of 1932. When Hitler foiled this factional manoeuvring and a few weeks later became chancellor himself, Gregor Strasser left the party. His younger brother Otto had already been expelled in 1930 and had set up a rival party, the Black Front.

Gregor was eventually killed as part of the 1934 purge known as the Night of the Long Knives, while Otto spent the 1930s and 1940s in exile, collaborating with anti-nazis and the intelligence services of Germany's rivals.

Enthusiastic British nationalists in the 1980s saw Strasserism as a "left wing" form of nationalism: emphasising the "socialist" aspects of national socialism. Gregor Strasser's assessment of capitalism, for example, struck a chord with nationalists observing the decimation of British manufacturing industry under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government after 1979:

The Capitalist system with its exploitation of those who are economically weak, with its robbery of the workers labour power, with its unethical way of appraising human beings by the number of things and the amount of money they possess, instead of by their internal value and their achievements, must be replaced by a new and just economic system, in a word by German Socialism.

The editors of *Nationalism Today* saw strong similarities between Strasserism's proposals for a revival of the ancient European guild system as an alternative to both Marxism and capitalism, and traditional British forms of racial nationalism. Though the Strassers were themselves nazis, their ideas could form part of a distinctively British ideology for the NF, untainted by the Hitlerism which some of the Front's previous leaders had espoused in their youth. *Nationalism Today* published numerous articles based on Strasserite ideas. To their credit, its editors developed what would now be termed "green"

ideas long before they were fashionable, highlighting statements such as this from Otto Strasser:

Those who understand that life in our huge tentacular towns is a danger to the race cannot fail to regard systematic de-urbanisation as urgently required for the sake of the people.

Despite his own pro-Hitler background, Martin Webster had himself embraced some aspects of Strasserism during the late 1970s and early 1980s as part of his conflict with John Tyndall. Young NF activists close to Webster such as Nick Griffin, Ian Anderson and Patrick Harrington learned much of their Strasserism from him,

though the development of NF ideology among the party's intellectual elite owed much to Richard Lawson, the NF's former student organiser and editor of the original *Heritage and Destiny*. Michael Walker, Central London organiser for the NF, had set up the magazine *National Democrat* in 1981, giving British nationalism a serious publication which reflected the resurgence of the New Right in Europe. Walker translated the work of the European New Right's leading intellectual Alain de Benoist, whose decision to vote for the French Communist Party in 1984 summed up the movement's radical

disillusionment with the cultural decay of the West.

When Webster was forced out of the NF two weeks before Christmas 1983, the radicalisation of NF ideology was therefore not a revolutionary change but a development of existing trends. The anti-Webster coup was portrayed not as an ideological u-turn but as a cleaning of the Augean stables. Webster was condemned in 1983-84 for inefficiency, laziness and cronyism (and of course for his homosexuality) by the very people who had supported him when John Tyndall raised similar charges in 1979-80.

A major difference between the NF and John Tyndall's fledgling British National Party was the latter's adherence to the "leadership principle" and the NF's pursuit of internal democracy, collective leadership and (at least nominally) decentralisation. After two disappointing general elections, NF membership had declined from its 1970s peak to around a thousand members in 1984, but for a couple of years there was a revival as old members returned. Though election results failed to pick up, bureaucratic leadership structures proliferated. As usual many of the arguments involved personality more than policy, and the loyalty of rank and file members was often a matter of simply following their local organiser.

The NF's democratic structure involved a Directorate elected by the entire membership, and an Executive Council elected in turn by the Directorate. The Directorate met monthly while the Executive met weekly. Twenty-five year old Cambridge graduate Nick Griffin soon enhanced his influence within the collective leadership by moving the NF's printing operations to Halesworth near his home in Suffolk in the name of two companies set up with the help of his accountant father Edgar: Gandalf Graphics and East Suffolk Press.

Rivalries at the top of the party began to crystallise around two factions. Griffin was a leader of the "radicals", who dominated the Executive Council. His allies included the Italian emigrés who had fled to Britain after the bombing of Bologna railway station in 1980.



Changing of the guard at the top of the National Front: Nick Griffin (left) eyes the main chance while outgoing chairman Andrew Brons (right) contemplates the Front's continuing decline



Never known for ideological consistency, Nick Griffin and then ally Derek Holland pursued a "revolutionary" strategy of support for Ulster Independence in the mid-1980s while seeking funds from the IRA backer Col. Gadafy (left). NF activists such as Margaret Kerr and John Field (centre - now married) greatly expanded party activity in Ulster. UDA commander John McMichael (right) briefly cooperated with Griffin's NF.

Housed initially by Steve Brady of the League of St George, the Italian fugitives soon established themselves in business. Some stayed at Michael Walker's Warwick Square flat, which briefly hit the headlines in 1983 when Luciano Petrone, wanted for the murder of two policemen and a Marbella bank robbery, was extradited to Italy and the press discovered that cabinet minister Nicholas Ridley lived in the same block. Another fugitive Italian, Alessandro Allibrandi, attended nationalist meetings in London before returning to Rome where he was shot dead in a police ambush.

Though Griffin has never claimed to be an original thinker, he drew from the Italians and from the Lawson-Walker intellectual Right a synthesis of ideas from Nietzsche, the Strassers, the Italian fascist and occultist Julius Evola and the European *Nouvelle Droite*. The 1981 race riots and the 1984-85 miners' strike failed to create revolutionary conditions in mainland Britain, so Griffin began to focus on Ulster as the revolutionary front line. Ever since the rise of the Provisional IRA out of the "civil rights" movement of 1968, British racial nationalists had identified with Ulster Loyalists and enjoyed significant support among the security forces battling on the front line against republican terror, but in the early 1980s the Thatcher government was still successfully playing the law and order, anti-terrorist, anti-immigration, and patriotic cards.

When the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed in November 1985 Griffin saw an opportunity to put the NF on the frontline of anti-agreement militancy. The NF would put itself on the side of militant Loyalism against the police and security forces, whom Griffin painted as the tools of a corrupt and reactionary Thatcher government determined to sell out Ulster. NF activity and paper sales in Ulster soared, with Griffin's ally John Field in the vanguard, supported by fellow Directorate member John Ross and Birmingham NF organiser John Hill.

At the NF's annual general meeting soon after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement the radicals changed NF policy to support "Independence for Ulster", in line with the radical concept of a decentralised "Europe of a Hundred Flags", arguing that the Westminster regime could no longer command the loyalty of Ulster Protestants. Some Loyalist paramilitaries had already adopted the independence strategy. High level NF-UDA discussions had taken place as early as May 1981, when Steve Brady and Martin Wingfield held a meeting with the paramilitary leaders John McMichael and Andy Tyrie, though the UDA had already moved away from the independence line by the time Griffin took it up and the NF's alliances during 1985-86 were with the pro-independence Ulster Clubs, newly established by Orange Order leaders such as Hugh Ross and Alan Wright.

The Ulster issue now emerged as one of the dividing lines between the radicals and the populists. Some Loyalists went as far as attacking police officers' homes, and Belfast NF organiser Andy McLorie (later the BNP's Ulster organiser) received a two year prison sentence for one such arson attack.

Radicals such as Griffin, Field, Derek Holland and Phil Andrews saw such setbacks as the sort of problem a revolutionary movement would inevitably have to confront. Their opponents, variously dubbed "reactionaries" or "populists", argued that if the NF became associated with terrorist violence or crank ideas it would be utterly marginalised in the eyes of most natural sympathisers among the British electorate. Two key figures in the populist faction (who each spoke against Ulster independence at the NF's 1985 AGM) were Ian Anderson and Martin Wingfield, successive chairmen of the Directorate after Andrew Brons stepped down in 1984.

For a year or two there were effectively two power centres in the NF: Griffin's home in Suffolk with its nearby printworks and the party office in Pawsons Road, Croydon, presided over in notoriously shambolic fashion by Ian Anderson. (Despite talk of decentralisation, there was only one genuinely powerful branch - Birmingham, which under capable organiser John Hill was able to rent its own premises.) While Martin Webster had been much criticised for his inefficiency and for spending too much time (and party funds) in Croydon pubs, Anderson and his cronies proved much worse - soon infamous for bouncing cheques and for the repeated excuse "seven to ten days" when challenged over unpaid bills or failure to deliver promised materials. On one notorious occasion Anderson ally Jimmy Grundle (who had also embarrassed the



Ian Anderson (left), a self-styled moderate who now operates on the fringes of Conservative politics, once had no problem espousing "white power" and demonstrating with British Movement members such as Alan Winder (right)

party in Ulster) got into a non-political fight in a pub with a Glasgow Celtic fan, giving police an excuse to raid the party headquarters.

By the autumn of 1985 Anderson had given the radical faction enough ammunition to undermine his control of NF administration. Subscription and membership files were transferred to Griffin's East Anglian power base and the Anderson faction was further weakened by the enforced resignation of Roger Denny after a drug scandal. Denny's wife Tina (formerly Dalton) became the target of foul Griffinite abuse, especially after she left Denny for Martin Wingfield.

Many readers may be surprised to discover that Nick Griffin's position on virtually every strategic issue in the mid-1980s was the polar opposite of the positions he espouses today. While today's Griffinites sneer at proponents of an English Parliament, insisting that such a policy involves disloyalty to the "Union", Nick Griffin himself was an outspoken decentraliser and advocate of Ulster Independence. While Nick Griffin in recent years has dismissed street activity as mindless yobbery, the 1980s Nick Griffin called for a confrontational strategy on the streets - not only against the Left but against the police. NF moderates in the 1980s were targetted by Griffin with the same scorn and paranoia which he now reserves for hardliners, and among the individuals attacked most viciously was Martin Wingfield.

In a lengthy diatribe against his internal rivals, Griffin wrote: *The other clear pointer to Wingfield's ideology (or lack of it) was provided when he expressed strong reservations about a campaign against American military bases on British soil after they were used to launch the terror-bombing raid on Libya, thus putting Britain directly in the firing line in a foreign war which was against the interests of our nation. After pressure was brought to bear, he promised to run a major article on the subject in NF News, but nothing appeared until the paper was taken out of his hands. Yet the anti-U.S. bases line is not only an integral part of Revolutionary Nationalist ideology, it is also one of the most effective recruiting issues available to the N.F. Wingfield, however, sees foreign affairs in terms of a global struggle between the Western "goodies" led by the Good Ol' U.S. of A., and the Eastern "baddies". Those nasty Ruskies might be White, but since New York is the centre of our civilisation we must be prepared to die for Ronald Reagan to see off the Bolshevik peril. Wingfield may have impeccable credentials as a racist, but so has the extreme right-wing of the Tory party, which is where Wingfield belongs.*

For 1980s Bolsheviks and Ruskies, read 21st century Islamists and Iranians; for Libya read Iraq - except that Griffin was then an enthusiast for campaigns against Zion foreign policies, and would now be on the opposite side of the argument.

In one respect at least Griffin has remained consistent: his appetite for factional skulduggery. The Griffinites brought twenty-three disciplinary charges against Anderson at a Directorate meeting. Though Anderson was suspended his ally Wingfield soon succeeded in overturning the Griffinites majority on the Executive, with support from former chairman Andrew Brons. A stand off between Wingfield as chairman and Griffin as deputy chairman was never likely to be good for the party's health, and during the summer of 1986 threats of court injunctions were bandied about between the rival factions.

With the Directorate evenly balanced the future of the party absurdly depended on Roger Denny's drug conviction and another scandal disbaring one of Wingfield's allies. Needless to say whichever faction won was likely to expel its rivals, while out in the real world the party was steadily disintegrating, leaving whoever won the forthcoming showdown with a formidable task.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

Editor's note: Part VII of this series will appear in Issue 36

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Book Review: *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* - by George Michael

Published by University Press of Florida, ISBN 978-0-8130-3198-9 - 341pp, hardback. Available from University Press of Florida, 15 Northwest, 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611-2079, USA. or online at www.upf.com for \$45.00 (post-paid).

In his comprehensive new biography of Willis Carto, publisher of the *Barnes Review* and the *American Free Press*, Dr George Michael assesses his subject as "undoubtedly the central figure in the post-World War II American far right." European readers will wonder how this can be so, since Mr Carto has neither stood for public office nor promoted a distinct interpretation of nationalist ideology, but it is clear from this book that to a very large extent the history of our movement in post-war America is the history of Willis Carto.

Central figures in the European "far right" such as Jean-Marie Le Pen, Jorg Haider, Udo Voigt and Roberto Fiore have all held elected office in some parliament or council chamber, as for that matter has *H&D's* editor. Other leaders such as John Tyndall, Colin Jordan and Nick Griffin have been unsuccessful electoral candidates.

During more than half a century in the movement, Willis Carto has not been a candidate in a single election, a fact which tells us much about the racist movement in the world's largest democracy. The truth is that there has only been one seriously successful election campaign for the American movement in those years: David Duke's election as a Louisiana state representative in 1988. At presidential level there have been very few serious attempts from any quarter even to shake the duopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties: Henry Wallace and Ralph Nader from the left; Strom Thurmond, George Wallace and Pat Buchanan from the right; billionaire maverick Ross Perot; and liberal Republican John Anderson.

Carto was a prominent organiser in one of those campaigns, the 1968 effort by four-term Alabama Governor George Wallace to fight back against the Democratic Party's betrayal of southern Whites. Wallace took 13% of the nationwide vote and won five southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. Yet the impetus of his campaign was soon diverted by President Richard Nixon's "southern strategy" which has left the Deep South as a block of "red states" consistently supporting Republican presidential candidates. Like their fellow Americans forty years on from the Wallace campaign, southern Whites this year had the dismal choice between presidential aspirants John McCain and Barack Obama.

Should we therefore judge the American racial nationalist movement - and in effect Willis Carto's career - a failure? As Dr Michael documents

Carto began his political activism in the early 1950s, just as White America was coming under sustained attack.

It is surely significant that unlike many other leading postwar American racials (Thurmond, Wallace, Fields, Duke) Carto was not from the Deep South, nor was his background in the rural or small town America which has been the bedrock of the Christian Right. Carto was born and brought up in Fort Wayne, Indiana, a large Midwestern city.

He is among the last leaders of our movement to have fought in World War II, joining the U.S. Army in 1944 and serving with the 23rd ('Americal') Infantry Division in the Far East, where he was wounded by a Japanese sniper.

After briefly studying at law school Carto dropped out to work as a salesman - making his pre-political background surprisingly similar to John Tyndall's, and strikingly different to leaders such as Nick Griffin, who have never held a serious job outside politics.

Dr Michael demonstrates that Willis Carto's ideological development was much influenced by Lawrence Dennis, who promoted corporatism and isolationism in the 1930s and came to be seen as one of the most pro-national socialist American intellectuals. Arguably Dennis (and later Carto) have been the true inheritors of Thomas Jefferson's political legacy. It has been common to find American populists denouncing big government, only to end up effectively promoting the interests of big capital - New York money as the Scylla to the Charybdis of Washington bureaucracy. American anti-communists have built up "Red scares" to terrify conservatives, who have ended up subordinating U.S. foreign policy to another alien

influence and fighting an apparently endless and hopeless war on behalf of Israel. Carto's strain of populism has avoided these pitfalls, and tellingly his biggest regret is that in the 1960s his anti-communism led him to support U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

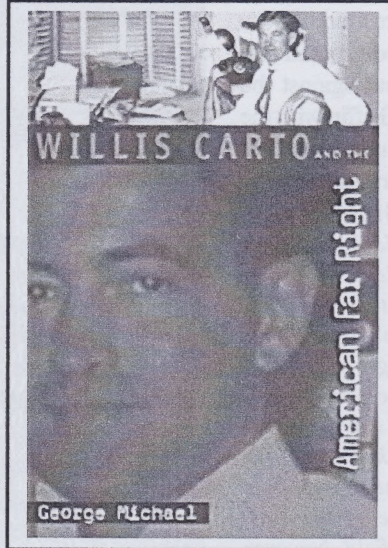
Many readers will be particularly interested in Carto's attitude towards Christianity. Though like every prudent American racist or conservative Carto has been careful not to cause gratuitous offence to Christians among the donor base, his own attitude seems closer to critics of Christianity such as Dr Tomislav Sunic. In his introduction to the Noon Tide Press edition of Nietzsche's *The Anti-Christ*, published in 1980, Carto criticises both the liberal, multiracialist variant of Christianity and what was then the resurgent wing of conservative fundamentalist Christian Zionism personified by Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. This Christian Zionist conservatism is in Carto's words: ...a deadly enemy - the traitor at the gate. A secret enemy - one who poses as your friend - nay, your savior - is far more dangerous than an open enemy.

While avoiding either the open national socialism of George Lincoln Rockwell or the paramilitary style of William Pierce's National Alliance, Willis Carto has never been afraid to tackle the Jewish question head on. In common with several other leading postwar racials he was much influenced by Francis Parker Yockey's book *Imperium*, and was the last visitor to the author in his San Francisco prison cell before Yockey's suicide in June 1960. Like Yockey, Carto has always perceived Jews as "culture distorters" waging a "permanent revolution" against the ideals of European civilisation.

This perception of an overriding Jewish threat means that Carto has to square the populist circle when discussing the appropriate size and role for central government:

Fascism is really a populist economic system. It's a system whereby the dictator appeals to the public directly and goes over the heads of the bankers and over the heads of the other interests. That's why they got those huge majorities in the plebiscites like Hitler had. Fascism is populism.

But there is one difference, which is an essential difference... Fascism is authoritarian populism. That's not what we ever had in this country.



Author George Michael (right) at a AF-BNP barbecue in Northern Virginia in 2001, with *H&D* editor Mark Cotterill (left) and Dr. Michael's young son Wolfgang

That's certainly not what I advocate. I advocate a democratic populism. Europe literally had communists marching in the streets. And where populist movements had been submerged by communism such as in Romania and such as in Hungary, the anti-communist movement had to be militant... It had to be authoritarian. It had to be pyramidal where you had leaders at the top, just like an army, because it was an army. They were fighting organised communism. They were fighting big money... And the people literally put down communism all over Europe.

In promoting his brand of populism Willis Carto's primary role has not been as an ideologist or a political candidate: instead he has been a supreme organiser and networker, arguably the best in the movement's postwar history worldwide. After just a couple of years of active political engagement he took over an organisation called Liberty and Property in 1954, quickly becoming one of the most prolific opponents of the racial integration which had taken a giant step forward that year with the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*.

Between 1955 and 1960 Carto's first publication was the newsletter *Right: The National Journal of Forward-Looking Americanism*, whose contributors included some of the legends of 20th century racial nationalism such as Earnest Sevier Cox, Lothrop Stoddard and Roger Pearson. It was in the pages of *Right* that he first developed his interest in black separatist nationalism as a logical complement to our cause. More recently Carto's magazines have published favourable articles and interviews with Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. Dr Michael notes:

When reading back issues of Right today one is struck by its radicalism. Looking back, the newsletter appears ahead of its time, as it championed certain positions with a stridency uncharacteristic of its far right contemporaries. While other rightist organs at least endeavored to create a veneer of moderation and respectability, Right became increasingly shrill and oppositional. In it, one could find unapologetic defenses of racial separatism based on the putative biological superiority of whites. Yet at the same time, Right reached out to like-minded blacks in order to forge a multiracial separatist coalition. Despite the fact that the Holocaust and World War II had occurred only a few years earlier, the newsletter became more and more open in its criticism of Jews and defensive of certain aspects of fascism and National Socialism. Entry into World War I was identified as the crucial event, which put America on a destructive trajectory and set in motion trends that led to the Great Depression, the rise of Bolshevism, fascism and Nazism. Right unabashedly stated that the United States fought on the wrong side in World War II. The war and its aftermath threatened to destroy Western civilisation. Jews were implicated as the principal agents in this sad state of affairs. They were blamed for blackmailing Woodrow Wilson into involving the United States in World War I.

Such concerns led Willis Carto to establish the Institute for Historical Review in 1978, the first real attempt to organise what was then emerging as a revisionist trend among some historians of the Holocaust. As Carto tells Dr. Michael:

I tried to bring a little light into history... And that's why I started the IHR... The Holocaust is history. Anybody, except a very biased person, realizes that there are two sides to every question. And the historical revisionists... have a perfect, moral and legal right to give the other side to this question. There has been so much done in the past twenty years on this... You see the Jews don't want to debate this. You can't find anybody to debate them.

Alongside well known revisionists such as David Irving, Robert Faurisson and Fred Leuchter, speakers at IHR conferences included more mainstream historians such as John Toland and William Hessestine. Carto has shown a similar ability to bring together disparate individuals

in his political enterprises, most famously the Liberty Lobby and associated publications such as *Spotlight*. He has tried on several occasions to forge a serious political coalition out of the notoriously fractious American racial nationalist movement.

Dr. Michael suggests that Liberty Lobby (devised in the late 1950s but not formally incorporated until 1962) represented a move away from the strident militancy of *Right* towards a pragmatic strategy of influencing the Republican Party. At the 1964 presidential election it appeared that some sort of right-wing coalition had gained control of that party, with the nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater, though in fact Goldwater was not "right-wing" at all except in his anti-communist foreign policy. In 1968 Carto played a leading role in "Youth for Wallace". Gov. Wallace did present a genuine challenge to liberal orthodoxy, and the National Youth Alliance created out of his 1968 campaign perhaps had more potential than any other American racial nationalist movement.

During 1969-70 two titans of that movement - Willis Carto and William Pierce - were working together in the NYA. Sadly they soon split and became bitter enemies. This pattern of encouraging pan-nationalist alliances followed by rancorous splits and festering disputes has recurred throughout Carto's career (one such dispute, as Dr. Michael records, involving *H&D's* editor). The IHR itself eventually split, provoking a long legal battle between Carto and the organisation's director Mark Weber. Similar problems bedevilled the Populist Party, which Carto created in 1984. After abortive efforts to field former Olympic pole vault champion Bob Richards as a presidential candidate that year, the Populist Party nominated David Duke for President in 1988. Though Duke received fewer than 50,000 votes across the twelve states which



allowed him onto the presidential ballot, his campaign proved a useful launch pad for his successful election as a Louisiana state representative the following year.

By 1992 the Populist Party's coalition had crumbled, with open warfare between Carto and the man he had installed as party leader, Don Wassall. Having apparently abandoned efforts to create a third party, Carto now focuses more on the "political action committee" strategy of supporting racial nationalist candidates within the established parties. His assessment of political prospects for the early 21st century might have seemed apocalyptic when Dr. Michael's book went to press, but now appears prescient:

I can't see there being any significant political movement in this country until a real economic calamity, a real economic collapse, which has to come. I've been saying that for years. It hasn't come. But the financial picture for the government is unbelievably horrendous. The government is literally bankrupt. There's no chance of it ever getting out of bankruptcy. The only possible thing that I can see is that it has to fall off the side of the cliff. When it does in this country, I think we are going to miss the point of political corrective action. I think we can forget about it with our present institutions. I think when there is a real economic collapse there is going to be a revolutionary situation created overnight.

In the short term the collapse of American capitalism has led to the country's most leftwing and first black President. This may not be the death knell for Carto-style racial nationalism: in fact it may be the first stage of the revolutionary situation he has long predicted. Should this prove to be the case, racial nationalists across the White world will have cause to be grateful to Willis Carto for keeping the flame alive across more than half a century of tireless activism. Dr. George Michael's biography, despite its inevitably depressing chronicle of factional chaos, vividly records this career. Through the decades, in *Right*, the Liberty Lobby, NYA, *Spotlight*, the IHR, the Populist Party, *Barnes Review* and the *American Free Press*, Willis Carto has been a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson and a bold defender of free debate.

Reviewed by Peter Rushton, Manchester, England

Has America passed the point of no return? - Lessons from the recent presidential election

The patient has long since been pronounced terminally ill. His death is a foregone conclusion. As the days go by and his vital organs fail, the attending physician records the changes. Today his kidneys failed, yesterday his lungs collapsed. When may we expect his total demise?

The United States of America, barring a miracle, is in the status of that patient. Its demographic demise is a statistical certainty. The recent presidential election was just the failure of yet another vital organ. Death is often a slow and laborious process. There are still many such crucial failures to come.

At what point will death be pronounced? Will it be when, *a la* South Africa today, the very names of major cities are changed? When the "racist"

George Washington's name is removed from the capital and replaced with Martin Luther King, as in King Junior, District of Columbia? Of course, Columbia, being named after the "racist" Christopher Columbus will probably have to go too. Come to think about it "Christopher" might just offend America's growing Muslim community.

The parties which stood, at least partially, in opposition to the transformation of America, such as the Constitution and Libertarian groups, polled less than a million votes between them. Even if we were to add the legitimate leftist protest parties such as the Greens and Ralph Nader's Independents, who, at the very least, were sincerely pledged to ending America's Middle Eastern wars, the combined "third party" totals represented less than one per cent of the national vote. And it should be noted that the Libertarian Party, although opposed to both the Welfare and Warfare bureaucracy, was committed as well to the racial metamorphosis of America.

How did it come to this? How did the transformation of America into a majority (and soon after an overwhelmingly) Hispanic, black and Asian nation come about? Why are the very people being displaced dancing in the streets over the very fact of their dispossession? Why is this event celebrated in every media outlet as a great blessing?

Has this ever happened before in history, that a people would joyously surrender their land to other peoples? True, the Trojans danced around the wooden horse. But they didn't know the Greeks were inside. America's reaction to the darkening of their country is as if the Greeks would have rode in on the horse, asked Priam to leave, replaced him with a Greek and then all of Troy would have celebrated. Amazing? Indeed.

Yes, we know the hopeful excuses offered, that the Republicans were associated with the insane war in Iraq and that the economy had imploded, and McCain was too old and Palin too bizarre. Yes, all true. But the fact remains that blacks voted nearly unanimously for Obama, Hispanics gave him close to three quarters of their votes and, most tellingly, among whites, who did vote with only a slight majority for the Republican candidate, those under thirty voted solidly for Obama. So, say what you will as the racial makeup of the nation shifts, Americans seem incapable of resistance.

But, to be honest, the whites running for office are not much different. They, too, welcome their own dispossession. They, too, celebrate the never ending expansion of the Welfare and the Warfare state. They, too, in ever increasing numbers, welcome the embrace of assorted forms of decadence. Are they to be the bearers of the traditions and the very identity of European Man?

The plain truth of the matter is that it is hard to imagine any way in which the eclipse of the white peoples of North America can be halted or how their spirit be galvanized. Besides the grim facts of differential birthrates and massive immigration, the entire educational, entertainment and athletic

industries are mobilized to convince white people that the loss of their own homelands is a very good thing.

But, let us probe yet a step further and ask what might be the possible response of white America, even assuming that they were convinced, against all masters of the public debate, that non-white dominance of America was not a good thing? What would they do? Is there any conceivable way that the, by then, probably one hundred million non-whites will go elsewhere? That white racial domination can be re-asserted? That a separate nation be carved out for whites? Or even that massive anti-white discrimination via "affirmative action" will be dismantled? What manner of economic or

military collapse would be required to stoke the fires needed for white Americans to defy their mind controllers and create and implement some plan of action? In essence, can a significant enough number of white Americans, more specifically young whites, for revolutions are fought by the young, escape from the mental prisons imposed on their minds by Big Brother? And having done so devise a strategy that is not a fantasy? It seems unlikely, barring an apocalyptic tragedy and even then it is doubtful whether the needed wisdom and fortitude still exists.

Furthermore, the painful questions now emerge as to exactly what it is that should be saved or taken back. Given the fact that most white Americans have lost consciousness of themselves as a people, what would their survival the majority really accomplish? In essence, is a person who cares not a bit for his own heritage and culture or even his simple genetic/biological survival, of any interest for the survival of European man?

It is time, in the aftermath of American electoral debacle, to think long and hard about what it is that we seek to preserve and protect in the very difficult years ahead. This is a pressing question, not only for Americans where the nightmare is in its initial stages or South Africans, for whom it has clearly passed the point of no

return but even for Europeans living in places where the numbers are not yet irreversible. Is it governmental power itself that we seek, the control of central governments in nation states? Is it cultural preservation, the maintenance of everything from folkways to manners, from books and schools of thought, to romance and honor, the entire patrimony of a continent? Is it the sustaining of the great faiths of Europe, Catholicism, the Reformation and the Orthodox Church or, even further back, to pre-Christian paganisms? Or, is it simply the fact of biological continuity, that some of those genetically white should live on?

With the loss of political power, as has now happened on the presidential level and will become, in the immediate future, increasingly pronounced on all levels, is there a fall back position for racialists? (We use the term racialists, since racial "nationalists" implies a certain link between statehood and race, a link which is today completely forgotten. In fact, it is precisely the nation-states of Europe and North America that war on the very concept of white peoplehood.)

Perhaps, we should pay some attention to the Jewish experience. The Jews, deprived of their homeland and political power, nevertheless, have maintained their religion, culture and simple biological survival over two thousand years. They did this by realizing that, once they had lost state sovereignty, there were other ways to outlive and defeat their enemies. They switched their focus from governmental power to the articulation of a way of life that would bind them with their tradition and peoplehood via rituals and, most importantly, family life and tribal education of the young.



This is the very least and, long term, most important task for white peoples throughout the many rapidly changing European nations. Attention must be given first and foremost to families, schools and local communities. Yes, there are the larger political strategy questions, such as what sort of "nationalist" party should be supported. Do we opt for the soft racial nationalism of the BNP, the FN or the assorted Austrian groups or the more robust forms offered today by the likes of the NF in Britain or the assorted Third Position grouplets around Europe? These are in house squabbles of tactics and emphasis. Good men may differ about all this. However, what is paramount is not to lose sight of our children, their schooling and orientations.

For Americans, even the just mentioned political alternatives do not exist. The Constitution Party limits itself to calls for a return to the limited constitutional government of the republic's Founding Fathers, combined with anti-globalism, and opposition to homosexuality, abortion and the like. Surely, this is far superior to anything offered by the Democrat/Republican Big Brother conglomerate but, in its obliviousness to racial transformation, seems to be missing a big part of the plot. Even so, this very soft, tiny party polled less than two hundred thousand votes nationwide.

The very issue of race is forbidden to be discussed in polite circles America. Even opponents of Mexican immigration must limit themselves to its illegality or the nation's "carrying capacity." There is, to be sure, a sizable collection of educational groups and publications still committed to an identity-based politics of the sort that almost every American would have believed in a century ago, but they have absolutely no political voice. Their meetings are often banned and, despite an internet presence, are always portrayed in the media as evil and beyond the pale.

Racialists in America and elsewhere need to step beyond strutting fantasies and pleasant political day dreams. Think for a moment of the tragic HNP in South Africa. Its position, up until the end, was that de Klerk's "majority rule" referendum was illegal and, therefore, there was no reason to even explore the possibility of a white homeland within RSA, because "legally" white rule could not be ended. This is an example of racialists' fantasies. Compare that to the marching, singing and bellicose activities of the AWB. They too swore that it couldn't and wouldn't happen, that they would stop it. In the end they were reduced to a few random acts of violence and seeing their leaders and members sent off to jail sentences.

This is not to question the well intentioned sincerity of both these groups. Jaap Marais, may he rest in peace, and Terreblanche truly loved their people and devoted their lives to their well being. But realism must be the order of the day, not alluring fantasies about miraculous political or physical resistance.

In sum, one should surely pursue electoral strategies, be they of the BNP/FN varieties or their more virulent alternatives. One should endeavor to educate and influence others. But if the American election teaches us anything, it just might be that political power is for the present unachievable, at least in North American and Western Europe, certainly now and, maybe, forever. The final strongholds of Europe may be to the east, Russia and the nations surrounding it. There may be some form of "Eurasian" alliances in the future. But for Americans, and maybe some others, the time may be very late, perhaps, too late.

Understand me well, dear reader, please. This is not a counsel of despair. Rather, as an American who has seen the racial and political trends of the last fifty years, I am concerned that we not put all our hopes and efforts in the achievement of political power. The stakes of survival dictate that we develop alternative means to preserve heritage, faith and the very fact of our identities. It is well enough to storm the barricades. But, while so doing, it may well be more important to keep the home fires burning with the family and children assembled around them. If this is the enduring lesson of Obama, then his victory may yet be some sort of blessing for our people.

Gil Caldwell, Trenton, New Jersey

Editor's Note: Unfortunately, racial nationalists in the United States only rarely stand for public office. However, on November 4, John Ubele of the Nationalist Coalition came in third in a three-man race for Florida House of Representatives District 46. Ubele received 3.0 percent of the vote (1,880 ballots), losing to the incumbent Republican candidate. The Nationalist Coalition is an offshoot of the now-defunct National Vanguard, which itself was a breakaway faction of the National Alliance

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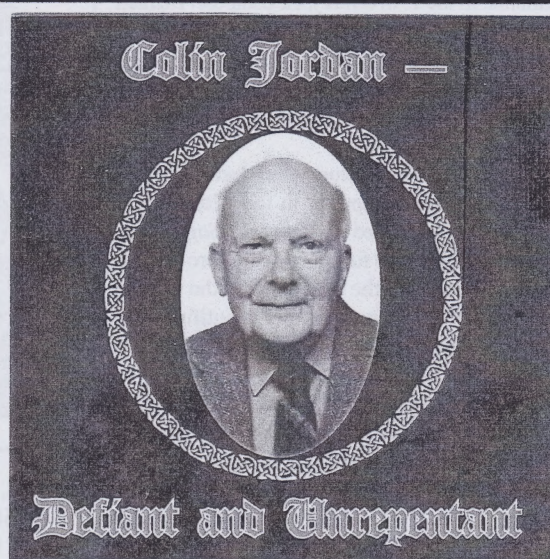
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The *Nationalist Times* is the monthly newspaper of Middle America. Each issue is packed with news and commentary on national and international events, politics, and the latest social trends.

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Book Reviews

***Volsung Saga The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs* - translated from the Icelandic by Eiríkr Magnússon & William Morris + *Future Fastforward* by Matthias Chang**

Published by Scott-Townsend Publishers, 2008, ISBN 1-878-465-42-2 (softback) 114pp. Available from Scott-Townsend Publishers, P.O. Box 34143, Washington, D.C., 20043, USA, or online at www.scott-townsend.com, \$20 +postage

Published by American Free Press, 2006, ISBN 10-9676904112 (softback) 400pp. Available from, First Amendment Books, 645 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington DC 20003, USA, Price \$18.75 or online at www.americanfreepress.net/store or www.futurefastforward.com

In his book *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, the historian Tacitus told the story of the German warlord Arminius, who was the terror of the Roman legions in the early first century A.D. "To this day the tribes sing of him," Tacitus wrote a hundred years after the death of the barbarian leader. The songs praising Arminius have not survived, but he was not the only Germanic hero who was honored in this manner. Indeed, it was customary in the pre-Christian era for the Germanic peoples to pay homage to their great men and women with songs and poems. Often the biography of an actual historic figure would become elaborated on and embroidered over the years. Motifs from myth and legend would be mixed in along with elements from folktales.

Without a doubt, the preeminent hero of Germanic myth and legend is *Sigurd the Dragon-Slayer*. The earliest version of his story is found in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, which dates back to the eighth century, where it is mentioned in passing in an abbreviated form. Already at that time, the *Beowulf* poet knew that his audience was so familiar with the story that a full telling of it was unnecessary. Bits and pieces of episodes from the tale are also found in the Icelandic collection known as the *Elder Edda*, where they appear in both poetic and prose form. A prose version is found in the later *Younger Edda*. In the Middle Ages, the continental Germans produced the famous *Nibelungenlied*, in which Sigurd is renamed Siegfried, and the story is stripped of most of its mythological and heathen elements. In the 19th century, the composer Richard Wagner combined the Icelandic and German versions in his famous operatic cycle, *The Ring of the Nibelungs*. In recent years, a cinematic treatment appeared entitled *The Sword of Xanten* (2004). There was also a best-selling popular-fiction novel, *Rhinegold* (1994).

But of all the versions of the story which have appeared over the centuries, none is superior to the 12th century Icelandic telling of the tale called *The Volsunga Saga*. Here, in all its pagan splendor, is the full story of the hero Sigurd, who was mortal grandson of the God Odin; of the warlike Brynhild; of the noble Gunnar and his beautiful sister Gudrun; of Fafnir the Dragon and Andvari the Dwarf; of the magic sword Gram; and much more.

There have been numerous English translations of *The Volsunga Saga* over the years, but the one that has best captured the Nordic grandeur of the original is that published by William Morris in 1888. Morris, a Romantic and an antiquarian, had a special love for the tale. He wrote, "[*The Volsunga Saga*] is the Great Story of the North, which should be to all our race what the Tale of Troy was for the Greeks." Morris utilized a stately, archaic vocabulary, which helped preserve the rhythms and dignity of the original tale. He wove poetic fragments from the heathen Elder Edda into the saga, which served to flesh out the details of the story, and which helped to restore its fierce pagan spirit. Sadly, the Morris translation has been out of print and unavailable for at least the last thirty years. Now, Scott-Townsend Publishers have produced a lightly edited version of the Morris translation in an attractive format with a full-color cover. It includes a highly informative introduction to the first edition by Henry Halliday Sparling. It is printed in a special type font devised by Morris, and which is intended to give the text an antiquarian look. We recommend this book to anyone who appreciates great literature or who has an interest in values, stories or spirituality of the pagan North.

Matthias Chang's book *Future Fastforward* is a first class book on the modern economic system and the Zionist Anglo-American Empire. This book was completed in early 2005. Reading this book three years on, one can see Chang's vision of future events enacted during the time that we are now living in. He quotes former Maryland State Senator Tim Ferguson at length:-

I have warned for a long time that the Federal Reserve is planning to destroy the United States economy by printing the U.S dollar in exponentially riskier quantities until it blows off the charts and crashes, and by easing credit rates until the average individual and corporate debt loads are so enormous that the the resulting massive distortions in the economy suddenly bring on an economic "heart attack", leaving no possibility of a short or even medium term recovery.

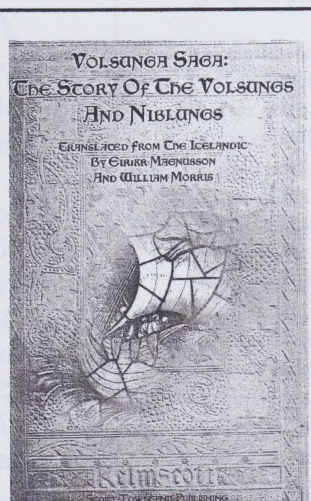
This collapse will knock you out cold, flat on your back with violence, and most of mankind will never get back up - while the Elite will be sending signals to their friends that the switch has been thrown and that final preparations for safety are now in order. They are not saying how bad it will be. That is why I began this site, (Senator Tim Ferguson's web site) because I could not find anyone, even doomsayers, who spelled out clearly what is at stake here. I believe that even the elite, such as Templeton (more below) do not fully understand the implications of this crash - that this is the end of America as we know it.

That great criminal enterprise - the Federal Reserve - has accomplished step #1, trashing and ending the dollar system, culminating a multi-year, massive, insane inflation of money supply and credit.

The Illuminati corporations such as Freddie Mac, Fannie Mae, Farmer Mac, FHA, GM, Ford, and GE (which are actually banks), worked hand-in-hand with the Bank Cartel on this sickening, twisted game, switching from pumping credit cards and cars (which have gone to zero percent financing twelve months ago) to a last-ditch horrendous push into mortgage lending.

This insane lending will destroy the lending institutions themselves, as Ford and GM are well aware, but the elite do not care, as after this collapse, there will only be one corporation in the world, and they are all pulling together to put everyone as deep into debt as possible, to assure than no American state or corporation or region will survive when the debt mountain suffocates all life.

This book is a must read for all racial-nationalists and concerned people who live in a world of plenty and yet see it, now daily heading for certain oblivion. The Future Fastforward website can be found at - www.futurefastforward.com



Reviewed by Martin Kerr, Falls Church, Virginia

Reviewed by Gerry Robinson, Bradford, Yorkshire

Victory for Exactitude - Töben defeats German prosecutors

On the afternoon of 19th November 2008, while the British Crown and Parliament debased themselves in an act of homage to the President of a bandit state, a small group of campaigners won a major victory for freedom of debate with the release of a jailed historian.

Australian academic Dr. Fredrick Töben had been held in London's Wandsworth Prison since his arrest at Heathrow Airport on 1st October. Though not accused of any offence against English law, he was detained under a European Arrest Warrant issued by the German authorities, who sought to put him on trial in Mannheim District Court for the "crime" of publishing historical source critical opinions on the internet.

Such opinions are criminalised by the notorious "Section 130" of the German Criminal Code, and Dr. Töben was facing a five year prison sentence. A few weeks ago the Mannheim prosecutor Andreas Grossmann boasted to the press that he expected Dr. Töben to be in a German prison by early next year. Grossmann also indicated his inquisitorial pride in the fact that those incarcerated for their opinions in Germany "have little chance of getting out before the end of their full sentence," because of their refusal to recant.

Happily Mr. Grossmann's hubris met Nemesis in the Miss Marple form of District Judge Daphne Wickham at the City of London Magistrates Court in Horseferry Road, who ruled that the German warrant was invalid.

Judge Wickham upheld the argument of Dr. Töben's defence barrister Ben Watson that the German authorities had not given sufficient detail in their warrant as to the exact nature of Dr. Töben's "crime" – a deficiency which proved impossible to rectify, perhaps because of the vagueness of the very concept of 'Holocaust' in the German law, which itself does not specify what may or may not be "denied" and does not even mention the supposedly "obvious" method of industrial mass murder by gassing. The authorities had referred merely to "worldwide internet publication" of historical arguments forbidden under Section 130, without specifying exactly which web page or email was concerned, or when it was published, or exactly where it was published. The warrant failed even to specify the manner in which Dr. Töben had infringed Section 130, which refers vaguely to arguments which approve, deny or minimise the extent of what are asserted to be the "manifestly obvious" historical facts about National Socialist Germany. Clearly the prosecutors had presumed that Dr. Töben would defend himself, and that his amateur legal resources would be insufficient against the might and expertise of the combined British and German governments,

British Crown prosecutors, acting on behalf of their German counterparts, appealed to London's High Court in an effort to reinstate the warrant and resume the extradition process – but on 19th November this appeal was dramatically abandoned with an executive order made for his immediate release in a comprehensive victory for Dr. Töben's extradition experts.

Having begun the day in a Wandsworth prison cell, Dr. Töben spent the evening at a champagne reception in St. James's as a guest of Michèle, Lady Renouf, who had coordinated his defence campaign and recruited the specialist legal team of Kevin Lowry-Mullins of Dass Solicitors and barrister Ben Watson of 3 Raymond Buildings. Supporters at the reception noted the irony of a blameless academic being released from fifty days' imprisonment on the same day that the British Crown honoured Shimon Peres, architect of Israel's nuclear weapons programme.

Lady Renouf believes that with Dr. Töben now fully vindicated, Germany's oppressive laws are now in the dock. The court of international opinion now charges 21st century Germany with crimes against traditional European standards of justice and free scientific enquiry. These standards were inherited from Classical Greece, which valued the inseparable four virtues of wisdom (with scientific attitude), temperance, courage and justice.

Joining the German state in the dock is the U.K.'s Attorney General Baroness Scotland, who supervises the Crown Prosecution Service which unjustly imprisoned Dr. Töben for fifty days on a warrant which failed even to meet the minimum standards required to allow an extradition hearing to proceed.

Baroness Scotland herself (in an earlier role as Home Office Minister) was responsible for piloting the Extradition Act through the House of Lords. She specifically assured Parliament in 2003 that revisionist historians such as Dr. Töben would not be subject to extradition under European Arrest Warrants for publishing their views on the internet. Yet five years later she allowed her senior officials to proceed with exactly the type of extradition which she had promised Parliament could never take place. If she has any sense of personal honour or political responsibility, Baroness Scotland will submit her resignation forthwith.

Meanwhile Dr. Töben will proceed with his historical work, secure in the knowledge that

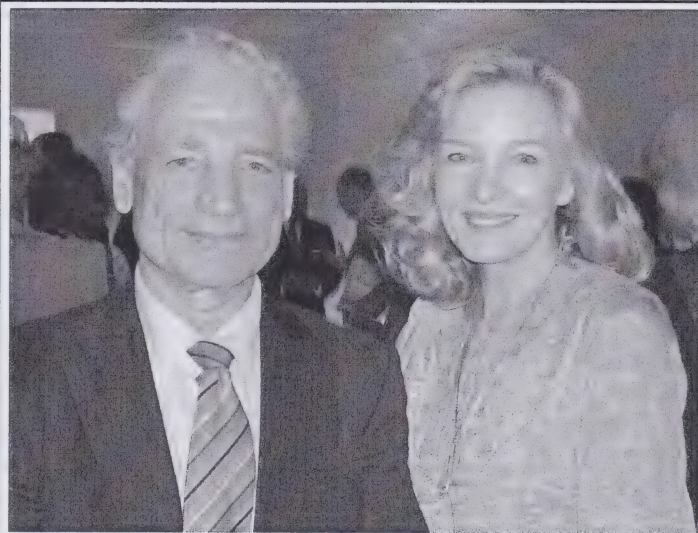
despite the perfidy of British politicians, the London courts have rescued their country's honour and preserved the proud heritage of Magna Carta.

Let this victory for traditional freedom lead to the rolling back of tyranny from those European countries which jail opinions and increasingly jail lawyers for defending them. Dr. Töben's defeat of the seemingly invincible should lead to a renewed offensive against oppressive European laws, winning long overdue freedom for Ernst Zündel, Gernar Rudolf, Sylvia Stolz, Gerd Honsik and Wolfgang Fröhlich – and the removal of legal threats to Vincent Reynouard, Jürgen Graf, Robert Faurisson and many fearless scientists and other scholars who insist there should be no exceptions to the normal revisionist method. They stand in defence of "debate and rational argument", in defiance of the anti-educational edict of the Stockholm International Forum 2000, which attempts to prescribe "guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust". These guidelines are about to be enshrined in the U.K.'s education policy, backed by a multimillion-pound propaganda industry promoting a one-sided approach to what should be a democratically debatable, multifaceted subject. The sudden halt to the extradition process against Dr. Töben has already prompted diverse commentators, including the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jerusalem Post*, to call for revisionism to be combated in the classroom rather than the courtroom. Dr. Töben and his fellow scholars, freed from the Damoclean shadow of 21st century German "justice", stand ready to take open debate of historical truth onto this new front.

Dr. Töben's European spokesman Lady Renouf wishes to thank all those wellwishers who have helped to keep up Dr. Töben's spirits during his incarceration and who indicated their willingness to contribute towards his £100,000 bail security, happily no longer required.

Further information about this case and related matters is available from www.jailingopinions.com

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England



Dr. Fredrick Töben with Lady Renouf at a champagne reception following his release from Wandsworth prison on 19th November

In Hoc Signo Vinces? Non! White Nationalism in the 21st century

Strange title? Not really I think it is quite apt if not a little controversial. Why should that be? Well translated "In Hoc Signo Vinces" means "Under this sign we conquer". The slogan was used by the Roman Emperor Constantine and referred to the Christian Cross. George Lincoln Rockwell used it as the title for a very influential pamphlet he penned in 1960 as a manifesto for his then existent American Nazi Party. *In Hoc Signo Vinces* is a call to struggle for all White men under the swastika and is the most sensibly produced manifesto for the adoption of the swastika and all the trappings of the original National Socialism of the 1930s. Without doubt, Rockwell was a propaganda genius but his vision was tragically cut short by an assassin's bullet in August 1967.

It would not be wrong to say that Rockwell and in particular that pamphlet influenced greatly my own ideological and political development and even though I marched with the Front from its inception as a British Nationalist and a racial nationalist, I was at heart a National Socialist.

I have been in this Movement (in its widest sense) around forty years but I have to say in hindsight Rockwell, courageous as he was, was wrong. Open National Socialism replete with swastikas, storm troopers and all the regalia of the Third Reich just does not work and certainly not in Great Britain.

Every instance of an openly Nazi Party in Great Britain has been doomed to failure from the very start and some of its incarnations (including a couple of present day look-alikes) are just downright embarrassing. The British people have never been ready, nor will they ever be, for open National Socialism, no matter it might be right – they will only ever see decades of Zionist anti-NS propaganda which has made straight National Socialism unacceptable.

The National Front of the 1970s – by far the most successful nationalist movement in the 20th century – referred to itself as 'British Nationalist' and that proved quite acceptable to the British people. I marched as a British Nationalist and a racial-nationalist and took these names alongside many of my comrades into the New National Front and the subsequent British National Party. Until 1999, the BNP, under the leadership of John Tyndall was quite comfortable using the term Racial-nationalist. The slogan of the BNP until the emergence to leadership of Nick Griffin was "For Race and Nation". This has now been replaced with a watered down "Identity and Heritage" message as a rather pallid replacement.

Enter David Eden Lane (November 2, 1938 – May 28, 2007), who whilst in jail for supposed crimes against ZOG developed some NS ideas into a new form. Lane stated his views can be best summarized by the 14 Words, a term he coined: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children." He held that view "because the beauty of the White Aryan woman must not perish from the earth." David Lane although he did not invent the term "White Nationalist" certainly popularised it, until I feel it is now, in this new century by far the best description for racially minded patriots whatever country they may hail from.

The British Nationalist scene is by far and away dominated by the British National Party under once almost openly National Socialist Nick Griffin. Griffin, rightly recognized that we must move away from the trappings of an era which, interesting and appealing though it might be, is now, though still important, but an era of past history. The fight is now and the fight is worldwide. British Nationalism and racial-nationalism no longer describe what we must be or must become if we are to battle an enemy who is Globalist in conception and in scope.

Now the problem with Griffin's 'reforms' is that they have gone too far! I suspect in fact that they have run away from him. Griffin may be in the unenviable position of being a closet White Nationalist who has found his own party has now taken in so many 'moderates' that by his encouragement of ethno-nationalism and his condemnation of White Nationalism (he refers to those who follow the Fourteen Words as "cultists"), has in fact unbalanced the BNP. He has in a Stalinist manner, decimated the 'right wing' of the party by driving out all the White Nationalists and is left with a party which is heavy with members grouped

around a 'centralist' position and has even its own liberal left-wing but is woefully short of that essential balance of White Nationalist radicals who in the end are the ones who keep their powder drier and are the ones still figuratively firing when the fair weather patriots take to their heels and flee (witness what happened to the NF in 1979-80).

Griffin needs, whether he likes it or not, people like me. This may sound arrogant and I doubt very much I will see a BNP membership card coming through my letter box any day now, but the point is I am not being personally arrogant when I state that without a solid leavening of real White Nationalists within the BNP, it will forever be a house built on sand.

This is not an anti-BNP article, and not even an anti-Nick Griffin article. I know hundreds of White Nationalists who would be only too happy to go back and support the BNP and produce the Holy Grail of unity if Nick Griffin stopped following a narrow Opportunist Populist path and did indeed make the BNP into the 'broad church' movement it should so clearly be. If he does not do this then he sets two problems. Firstly, a personal one in that Nick is the one person in the BNP who carries the most 'baggage' with his past ultra-radical political history and should the UKIP-style Tories seek to further ingratiate the BNP with ZOG by proving their 'anti-Nazi'



White Nationalism on the march in the 21st Century - the NF on Remembrance Day 2008

credentials, then Nick will be an embarrassing liability they may well throw overboard.

Secondly, all those myriad White Nationalists currently outside of the BNP will either be lost or will continually set up new groupings, and some of these will be of the 'Nutzi' variety, such as the few about at the moment who are an acute embarrassment and even a negation of White Nationalist values.

So here is the case for adopting White Nationalism and the Fourteen Words as I see it for this new century:-

- * White Nationalism carries no previous history that we have to spend valuable time defending. It is an incarnation of the natural philosophy of the Aryan people.

- * White Nationalism is the name for a creed which has been with us since emergence of our White race. White Nationalism is in essence 'the political expression of nature'.

- * White Nationalism is both national and global in both its application and appeal. We are fighting a global battle against the globalist New World Order. Wherever White patriots fight back as White Nationalists then we stand with them in unity.

- * The Fourteen Words far from being 'cultist' are the most acceptable and easily understandable statement of all we believe. I have yet to find one sensible White man or woman who can disagree with them.

We in Great Britain and Northern Ireland (in fact the whole of Ireland) desperately need a White Nationalist party. I do not see one at present but as a founder member of the BNP my hope would be that some way or other we could transform the BNP, as Britain's indisputably most powerful patriotic party back into a truly racially aware and eventually a fully developed White Nationalist party. Our task as WN's is not to pander to the many millions of Britain who are in their heart of hearts patriots and totally sick of the liberal-democratic system, but to educate them and convert them to White Nationalism whilst at the same time integrating them into an effective political organization – but it must be a White Nationalist one!

Eddy Morrison, Leeds, Yorkshire

White Racial Salvation - What we must do

Current efforts at White racial salvation, if they can be even be characterized as such, are basically futile or are limited because they are not sustained with a program of planned ongoing growth. Whatever efforts are made are usually one-shot deals that involve a limited number of leaders. These are usually weekend rah-rah conferences without any program of follow-up action.

A twin strategy of working towards a White homeland and educating our people rigorously in the normal academic disciplines while simultaneously inculcating racial consciousness needs to be employed.

Each of these goals involves a program of many small steps and small scale victories along the way that build confidence with a functional White homeland as the final eventual result. Right now, the situation cannot help but deteriorate with an actively Marxist/NWO Anti-White regime in power over what used to be called "Christendom".

There is no extant model that our people can learn about, aspire to, or use as a point of reference to compare what is possible and doable with the current evil, faulty system. Because there is no such practical or plausible example, our people will accept the current system or try to improve upon it by available off-the-beam avenues which do not focus directly on our problems. The weak, ineffective or roundabout method of working through the political system is the one method that is often recommended, but when it is tried it never leads to any success except for perhaps a limited impact on the immigration problem.

Apparently, the only spark that will start any worthwhile movement will be widespread starvation, economic deprivation, insecurity, or oppression so severe that people won't be able to take it anymore. We may be on the cusp of such phenomena, and need to come up with viable plans right away to steer the unrest into "proper" channels. Throughout history, revolutions or massive changes are only brought about when extreme conditions are present.

People join resistance movements under such abnormal situations. For the moment, the masses are bought off and mollified with political promises that are never kept, and are scared away from acting upon politically incorrect impulses, and are too distracted with inane entertainments.

At a certain point in the deteriorating situation, the masses will suddenly cease to care about who is governing them as long as they are safe and have food. At that point a shadow White government must be ready to take over the reins of power or secede from existing countries and establish a White

homeland with whatever force is necessary to accomplish the planned end result.

Non-whites will be encouraged to leave because economic opportunities will not be available to them or because they receive incentives to do so which could include compensation. The following program, or something similar must be instituted posthaste so that this transformation is possible.

First, a summer camping program *cum* academy/institute for young people with a program similar to the Boy and Girl Scouts must be established. There will be additional classes featuring the history and culture of the White race (with added material on local white ethnics). These activities will instill racial consciousness and solidarity. It would start with a prototype chapter and thereafter new chapters would be added to span the country or special geographical areas of concentration.

After a time, many youngsters who would normally join the Scouts will join this program. The chapters or camps would have to be open to non-whites to avoid being sued to death by the likes of the ACLU. However, there would be few non-white takers. They would likely join only to learn some special skill or subject they are interested in or to get away from the ghetto atmosphere they deplore.

The private Catholic schools in the USA could serve as something of a model insofar as entrance requirements are concerned. If the program can survive the inevitable legal hassles and harassment, it will gradually be expanded into a *bona fide* full private education system for grades one through eight, and later the high school grades, and later still college level academies specializing in training leaders in various disciplines will be established.

Teachers and staff will be drawn to a significant extent from the by then impossible to bear public schools and fully Marxist colleges. Teachers would have to be certified in the usual manner plus pass an interview and be further certified as being in accord with the overall program. A full home schooling curriculum would be developed for those that choose home schooling. If this alternative private schooling system encounters severe difficulties, the home schooling option will be ramped up significantly to fill in the gap.

Secondly, a shadow government must be instituted to take over the current political system at the proper time at least in the USA. The leadership to start the shadow government must come from current White leaders with good reputations. These leaders must agree to a division of labor amongst themselves - and give the role of top dog to someone they select unanimously amongst themselves.

This leadership cadre will not engage in any subversive activities but must be ready to take over rapidly when the situation reaches a critical point. Specific leaders will be groomed for or assume the required roles of President, VP, Secretary of State, etc. according to their abilities. In due course, some of the graduates of the private White school system delineated above will assume jobs in the new government in subordinate or entry level roles.

In order to change the current system, a revolution or the equivalent thereof is necessary, and to staff the new White government(s), racially conscious White people thoroughly versed in the necessary disciplines must be waiting in the wings and ready to assume their responsibilities.

An educational program similar to the one outlined above is a necessary prerequisite to effect the huge systemic changes we all wish would occur.

Sidney Secular, Silver Spring, Maryland



Racial nationalist efforts in the U.S. have not so far progressed beyond staging conferences such as David Duke's recent event (above) held despite massive efforts to force hotels to cancel bookings.

The People of Northern Europe - Part IX

The Great Germanic Folk-Wandering Intensifies (2 - Theodoric)

As we have seen, the Ostrogothic power under Ermanaric fell a sudden victim to the onrush of the Huns. The inevitable dislocation of peoples; the loss in life and property; the strange appearance of those Mongol warriors from the steppes whose supreme horsemanship caused them to be likened to centaurs, and who were described by one Roman author as "having cakes instead of faces," all combined to give the Huns the unenviable reputation that has clung to them ever since.

Jordanes relates a belief that the Huns were the offspring of devils and humans and that this accounted for the terror they inspired. Of course, the monkish chroniclers made the most of the "Scourge of God" idea, and no doubt the monasteries suffered from the Hunnish depredations, as they did later from the Viking raids; but the association of the Ostrogoths and other Germanic peoples with the Huns would indicate that, generally speaking, the Hunnish practice of war corresponded fairly closely to that prevalent everywhere at the time. If one can judge from the account of a contemporary witness, the Greek Priscus (secretary to the East Roman emperor's ambassador), the life at the court of Attila somewhere in the neighborhood of Vienna was barbaric, it is true, but by no means degraded. A later saga, the *Nibelungenlied*, shows that Gothic influence played a considerable role at the Hunnish court.

In 451 the Ostrogoths furnished large contingents to Attila's army when he invaded France. And so it happened that at Troyes there were Ostrogoths on one side and Visigoths on the other, and indeed other Germanic nations also participated in the momentous battle on both sides.

In 488-489 the Ostrogoths were led into Italy by Theodoric the Great. But Odoacer, who seems to have been a West German Herulian, had already established himself there, much to the annoyance of the Emperor at Constantinople. The last of the Western Emperors had been forced to abdicate in 476. The Eastern Emperor, desirous of expelling Odoacer from Italy, and also probably not unwilling to get the Ostrogoths away from the East, is said to have commissioned Theodoric to maintain the authority of the Empire in Italy. Theodoric never took the title of Emperor of the West, nor even of King of Italy, but contented himself with the title of King of the Ostrogoths. His own people were not ready for any such drastic change as that involved in a meaningful alteration of the status of the Gothic king.

Theodoric. After a series of battles, pitting German against German, Odoacer was defeated, and, according to the record, was slain by Theodoric himself. This effectively prevented any renaissance of power from that quarter. Theodoric proved an outstanding king of Italy, and under his rule prosperity was restored to what remained of Roman Italy. He exercised a tremendous influence on the Western Europe of his day, forming alliances with the Lombards, the Franks, and the Burgundians; and he also had dealings with the Visigoths in Spain. On the whole his influence was beneficial. He was successful in holding the balance of power and effectively established a *pax gothica*. Apart from minor outbreaks and the customary tribal wars and rivalries, raids and breaches of faith, his reign saw no general outbreak of war anywhere in Western Europe.

Theodoric, remembered in Germanic legend as Dietrich, was justly called the Great. He was a far-seeing man, far in advance of his time, and could see clearly enough that the Goths could not remain permanently in Italy as a separate power, occupying the usual one-third of the land; that could be only a temporary policy. Greatly impressed by the grandeur of the Roman Empire, its past and even its present, he realized that a combination of Roman culture with Gothic energy, morality, and military power represented the only satisfactory solution.

In this he was aided by many who had served at the Imperial Court before the coming of the Goths: such men as Symmachus and Boethius, Cassiodorus and others of foresight and vision. But his Goths were determined to cling to their traditional customs, and regarded the culture of the Mediterranean as decadent; or, perhaps like Athanaric, they felt that becoming too deeply involved with the civilization of the Empire would result in their disappearance as a people. In this they were correct; a Gothic-Roman power would have meant the eventual amalgamation of the two peoples. Furthermore, all the authority the Christian Papal power could exert was directed against the adherents of the Arian "heresy" which

the Goths supported, and this played no small part in the final extinction of the Gothic power, not only in Italy, but also in Spain.

Boethius. It appears to have been in connection with some suspected plot hatched by Theodoric's enemies, political and clerical, that Boethius, the last of the pre-Medieval philosophers, was charged with treason, tried before a subservient Senate, condemned to death and executed. It was while waiting in prison for the day of execution that he wrote his memorable work *de consolazione philosophiae*, a consolation he urgently needed, since from a modern point of view he was probably innocent of the charges. This philosophical work, in verse, had such a wide vogue that it was translated into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great as part of his program of educational improvement.

When Theodoric died he was buried in a magnificent tomb erected in his honor at Ravenna, the Gothic capital, which can still be seen. As far as Gothic history is concerned his efforts were doomed to failure. Perhaps it might have been otherwise if Theodoric's successors had

been willing and able to carry on his policy. But his successors were weak, and the Goths were disunited.

In 552-553 the armies of the Eastern Empire under Narses decisively defeated the Goths, and after 555 we hear no more of the Goths in the history of those times. No doubt large numbers fell in the many battles that were fought; the remainder were eventually absorbed by the native population.

The Gepidae. It will be recalled that the Gepidae remained on the East Baltic shore at the time of the migrations of the main body of the Goths to the southeast. There they appear to have remained until about 300. We hear little about them during the fourth century. After the Visigoths crossed the Danube in 376 and moved into the imperial territory, the Gepidae probably spread into the area that had been vacated. At that time everyone was preoccupied with the movements of the Huns and took little notice of the relatively unimportant Gepidae. In 406 a detachment of Gepidae joined the Vandals in their trek to the West, but after crossing the Rhine they remained in Gaul and became *foederati* of the Romans.

It was not until 418 that the Gepidae came under the influence of the Huns. They were forced to supply contingents for the Hunnish armies, and consequently fought with the Huns against the Roman Empire in 447-449 and again in 451 in the West when a large contingent of them accompanied Attila.

After the defeat of Attila and his subsequent death, the Gepidae under their king Ardaric led the revolt against the sons of Attila, who did not have the genius of their royal father. The Gepidae were joined by other Germans: Ostrogoths, Herali, Swabians, Rugii, and other Indo-German peoples, such as the Skiri, Sarmatae and Alans. The Hunnish Empire collapsed, and this gave the Gepidae considerable prestige and power.

But there were constant feuds between the Gepidae and the Ostrogoths about territory until the Ostrogoths finally departed for Italy; the animosity continued even then, as the Gepidae threatened to expand westward. After the decline of the Ostrogothic power, a new enemy of the Gepidae made an appearance in the Langobards, as they too attempted to establish themselves where there was too much competition for the available land. Between 547 and 551 several battles were fought between the Gepidae



Attila the Hun,
notoriously as right-wing
as H&D's editor

and the Langobards, who usually had the support of the Eastern Roman Emperor who initially feared the power of the Gepidae. Finally, a truce was signed between them that remained unbroken until 565. In this year the king of the Langobards, Alboin, abducted Rosimunda, daughter of Kunimund, king of the Gepidae. In those days that was good and sufficient reason for starting a war, since such conduct, although common enough according to the epics, could not be left unchallenged. The Langobards were at first victorious, but in 566 the Gepidae, this time in alliance with imperial troops, succeeded in administering a serious defeat to Alboin, who was now forced to return Rosimunda to the family circle. However, Alboin was not permanently discouraged. When the Gepidae were having trouble later with Avars in their rear, the Langobards attacked and thoroughly defeated them. The remaining Gepidae fell under the control of the Avars, and later in the ninth century they came under the domination of the Bulgarians, who destroyed the empire of the Avars. The Gepidae were consequently gradually absorbed by the other peoples of the region and thus became in part at least the ancestors of today's Romanians.

Langobardic and Germanic saga tells us that Alboin, after the defeat of the Gepidae, had a drinking cup made out of the skull of Rosimunda's father. No doubt he displayed this with great frequency and pride at the royal banquets!

The Heruli. There is still another Germanic nation that played a fairly important role in the affairs of Eastern and Central Europe during what might be called the Gothic period. This was the East German of the Heruli. Schmidt is of the opinion that the Heruli, or rather a part of that nation, landed at the mouth of the Vistula in the first part of the third century, coming from Southern Sweden, where they were under pressure from the Danes who were making the preliminary moves to the taking over of the Danish Islands. From the Vistula area they followed the route of the Goths, arrived in the Southern Ukraine and settled in the neighborhood of the Sea of Azov. This was about 267, according to the information given by Jordanes. From here the Heruli raided the territories of the Eastern Empire, these raids being as a rule by sea.

In 350 the Heruli were included in the dominion of Ermanaric. When the Huns destroyed the Gothic Empire, they brought the Heruli under their rule. As a consequence the Heruli were among the Germanic contingents who accompanied Attila in 451 on his march into France. The Heruli also participated in the great rebellion that ended with the fall of the Empire of the Huns in 453. From this time on they are seen frequently as mercenary troops in the armies of the Western Empire. They composed the majority of the soldiers with whom Odoacer overran Italy in 476.

As a result of an armed clash with the Langobards in 505, the Herulian power was shattered. In 512 a part of the Langobards sought entrance into Dacian territory. Another and smaller part chose to journey back to the Scandinavian homeland. Those who settled in Roman territory moved in 536 to the district around Belgrade where their task was to protect the northern frontier. It was about this time that the Heruli were converted to Christianity, some of them to the Athanasian faith, among whom was the king, but the majority of the nation to the Arian confession.

This was the cause of internal trouble, and eventually led to the Heruli being on two sides in a war between the Langobards and the Gepidae, the Arians being allied with the Gepidae and the Athanasians with the Langobards. The Arian Heruli were practically annihilated in the battle and nothing more is known about them after that time.

From time to time there are notices about the remainder of the Heruli as mercenary troops in the imperial armies where they established a very high reputation. In recognition of their services they were finally settled in 554 in the Trient district as frontier garrison troops. But after an unsuccessful revolt in 557, suppressed by Narses, the general of the Eastern Roman Empire, nothing more is heard about them.

About 400 B.C. the cult-group of the Ingvaeoni included the various tribes along the Dutch and Frisian coasts, in Northwest Germany and the Jutish Peninsula, as well as on the Danish Islands and in Southern Sweden. Apart from the emigrations that have been described, the situation had not changed very much at the beginning of the present era.

The coastal areas of the North Sea from Holland to the west coast of the Jutish Peninsula had been subjected to periods of elevation and

subsidence. A period of subsidence began about the beginning of the present era and is still continuing. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand why it was necessary for some of the people to emigrate, since in addition to the unfavorable conditions, there was also the pressure of a fertile population.

There was a Saxon expansion inland, which eventually brought about the occupation of Lower and Upper Saxony, after the removal of the Frankish threat. But before this, the pressure had been relieved by expansion westward along the French coast as far as the Seine river. These raids and settlements were so threatening that the Romans were obliged to appoint a special official called the Count of the Saxon Shore, whose special duty it was to watch for and ward off these daring attempts to take booty or to effect settlement.

Dr. Sidney Green, Brookland, New York

Editor's Note: This article continues in the next issue of H&D with part X - The Founding of the Modern Nations of Western Europe.

Senlac Hill - 1066

Seven days you marched, from North to South
'til you arrived at battle's mouth
And took your place in wall of shields
Gazing down on sodden fields
'neath Senlac Hill

As day broke cold, the Norman host
A Bastard's will, a Bastard's boast
Advanced with mail and lance and bow
To gamble all on once last throw
On Senlac Hill

The sun rose high, the arrows too
And here then there a Saxon slew
The shield wall held against all charge
The Fighting Man on skyline large
'Top Senlac Hill

The host drew off, the Fyrdmen rushed
But soon their bodies mingled dust
The host drew in, the Fyrdmen stood
Lance on shield and axe on wood
On Senlac Hill

The arrows thinned the Saxon line
So they drew in round Saxon crown
The Housecarl and the Thegn held fast
And swore that they would 'ere be last
From bloody Senlac Hill

The dusk and mist they smeared the night
And arrows now straight down in flight
'til they transfixed the Kingly eyed
The Banner fell, and England died
On weeping Senlac Hill

An Abbey stands on Senlac mound
And happy children swirl around
They do but laugh and never cry
Upon the place where England died
That day on Senlac Hill

Eddy Morrison, Leeds, Yorkshire

The West Reborn?: Reflections on the New Right on the Fortieth Anniversary of GRECE

Writing in 2008, it is forty years since the events in Paris that lead to the birth of the influential GRECE institute, the kernel around which the New Right movement was to develop.

Groupement de Recherche et d'Etudes pour la Civilisation Européenne (Research and Study Group For European Civilisation), popularly known within and outside France by its acronym GRECE, was founded in January 1968 in Paris. GRECE was initially formed in response to the threat of left-wing revolution sweeping France at the time, and widespread unrest across the university establishment. Many Conservatives and Traditionalists in France were frustrated at the seeming inability of Conservative politicians to defend the integrity of French political and cultural life. A dual threat was seen to be emerging from the global conditions fostered by the Cold War. Externally, the Government's foreign policy was increasingly dominated by the United States' cold war strategy, which used Western Europe as a buffer zone to protect it from the threat of Soviet missiles should the war become "hot". Internally, social disintegration was accelerating due to the widespread influence amongst the young of far-left ideas and the continuing inspiration of Soviet Communism, combined with a growing disaffection induced by American consumerism.

A worrying alliance was to develop over the course of 1968 between immigrants, radicalised affluent students and the traditional organised working class represented by the Trades Unions. This ideological encounter was to revolutionise left wing thought and bring about the birth of the "New Left" school of socialism. This influential movement broke from Marxism-Leninism and the economic determinism that had characterised the radical left up to this point. Following the lead of Italian socialist Antonio Gramsci, one time friend and then bitter opponent of Benito Mussolini, the principal focus of the New Left was cultural struggle. Gramsci's analysis was born of his experience in Italy in the turbulent years following the First World War, particularly the "year of revolutions", 1919. Throughout this year, Italy was rocked by general strikes, factory occupations, mutinies and organised left wing activity. In many places, the ineffectual liberal administration completely lost control and *de facto* political power descended on workers' committees and soviet-style communes. Yet, within three years, the revolution had been completely crushed and a Fascist state had been installed within the ruins of the nascent workers' paradise.

Writing from prison, Gramsci posited that the failure of socialism in Italy had rested on an enduring social conservatism, which had prevented the worker's movement from taking deep roots. After an initial growth spurt, the movement had simply withered away for want of better soil. The first task of the left therefore was to build a socialist culture within the industrial west. With its cultural base undermined, the bourgeois establishment would find its existence unsustainable.

A complementary view was developed contemporaneously by French revolutionary Georges Sorel. Sorel saw the necessity of a grand idea or myth, to transform the cultural consciousness of the proletariat and induce a revolution. Sorel's inspirational myth was that of the "General Strike", but his ideas have influenced many different thinkers. Mussolini reinterpreted Sorel to stress the importance of the myth of the Nation in the "Fascist revolution". German theorist Alfred Rosenberg gave a similar role to the "myth" of Blood-race in his rambling polemic *The Myth Of The Twentieth Century* in 1936.

Identical views to these were to be adopted by GRECE and the New Right from the 1970s onward. In the forty years since its birth, the ideology of the New Left has virtually become a cultural orthodoxy, although the social and economic elements of its program have remained largely unfulfilled. In the twenty-first century, the New Left is the liberal, multicultural refuge of the politically dominant urban middle classes. Its

moderate form has inspired the "Social Democratic" governments, which have held the balance of power in Europe since the mid 1990s, including Britain's New Labour government. In its radical aspect, the New Left has been the inspirational driving force behind numerous organised "anti-capitalist" protests since 1999 and the large anti-war protest movement in Europe since the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003.

The New Left remains an outspoken advocate of ultra-liberalism and modernity, and is a powerful disintegrating agent in twenty first century Europe. In the late sixties, the first duty of any new Conservative movement was to rise to the challenge of this new modernist ideology. It is against this backdrop that the actions and achievements of the New Right should be assessed.

From the start, GRECE was centred on philosopher and journalist Alain De Benoist and a nucleus of forty right-wing intellectuals drawn from the quasi-political Europe-Action, Federation of Nationalist Students and Movement for National Progress. De Benoist has remained the leading ideologue and most influential member of GRECE. However, until recently

he was little known outside his native France. The opening years of this century have seen the publication in English of De Benoist's opus on pre-Christian European ethics and culture *On Being a Pagan*, as well as translations of many of his key articles and manifestoes appearing on the internet. He has also contributed to seminal Radical Traditionalist Journal *Tyr*. Two studies of the GRECE phenomenon by American authors; *New Culture, New Right: Anti-liberalism in Post-Modern Europe* by Michael O'Meara, and *Against Democracy and Equality: the European New Right* by Tomislav Sunic [reviewed in *H&D* Issue 20] have both served to give GRECE more widespread coverage.

As may be suggested by the names of the groups from which GRECE was formed, de Benoist and his circle were not what would have been generally recognised as "conservative" in 1960s France. His was a body of radical young men, whose adult worldview had been formed by the cold war experience of France in the late fifties. As such, their *Weltanschauung* showed a marked divergence from

both the neo-liberalism that passed for post-World War Two conservatism and the "old right" of the pre-war period. Notably, GRECE made a break with the traditional Catholicism of the old right by espousing an explicitly pagan system of ethics and values. Christianity and monotheism were both rejected in favour of a pre-Christian indigenous ethical-religious complex rooted in European myth. Paganism was not promoted as an external religious practice, but as an inner worldview that represented the natural outlook and vision of the European peoples. Especial attention was given to Nordic and Germanic traditions and customs. In practice this amounted to a general pantheism and an inclination toward individual traditionalist initiatory observances. The new religious movements were generally label as neo-pagan owe more to occultic interpretations of post-modernism and the liberal left than genuine 'pagan' ethics. It is telling that the influential "Western Mystery Tradition" supposedly revealed during the nineteenth century occult revival is a hotchpotch of medieval Jewish mysticism, quasi-Buddhist meditative practices, poorly understood Hindu metaphysics and Egyptian mythology and god forms, all shoe-horned into a semi-Masonic framework. In contrast to this, GRECE pioneered an academic approach to re-discovering Europe's lost religious traditions.

Despite this divergence from cultural and religious Catholicism, GRECE represented a radical return to the Catholic social program jettisoned by the mainstream French Right after the Second World War. A philosophy of grass roots socialism, mutualist economics and distributism had been encouraged by the Popes since Leo XIII issued an encyclical letter on social justice in 1896, although it drew on far older Catholic visions of social justice and harmony. This social vision had characterised the inter-



Alain de Benoist,
New Right pioneer

war Radical Right movement *Action Française*. Combined with medieval ideas of integral regional cultures, GRECE developed a communitarian cultural and economic plan which championed decentralisation, sustainability and organic democracy. The final plank of GRECE's developing manifesto, and another point of departure from the Traditional Right, was its pan-Europeanism. In the place of a narrow French Nationalism, GRECE realised that strong European unity was essential to any program aimed at restoring the greatness of European civilisation.

A similar revelation had taken place amongst theorists within the SS during the early 1940s, and in Oswald Mosley's post-war Union Movement in Britain, which called for the "greater Nationalism" of European Unity. In this, GRECE fell in line with the revolutionary idea of a pan-European traditionalist state, designated the *Imperium*, in Francis Parker-Yockey's 1947 treatise of the same name. This term has gained common credence as a term used to describe the New Right's political ideal.

The collection of ideas emanating from GRECE became known as the *Nouvelle Droite*, the New Right. As we have seen, their political and cultural programs varied drastically from mainstream conservatism, and their economic model had more affinity with the anarchist left. In common with the New Left, the New Right embraced the potential of post-modern ways of thinking, and accepted Gramsci's opinions on the necessity of cultural paradigm shift in order to effect political change. The New Right thus abandoned political activism and initiated a purely cultural approach, which they rather self-importantly called "Metapolitics". In De Benoist's own words "Without Marx, there could be no Lenin". Thus was born what was arguably the most influential

Traditionalist ideology of the post-war twentieth century. Its children have included the Radical Traditionalist movement and National Anarchism, as well as the diverse and sometimes bizarre movements which designate themselves as "New Right". From the beginning, the New Right has offered an explicitly revolutionary solution to the problems of modernity, transcending and blurring the traditional dividing lines between "left" and "right", "politics" and "culture". At its best, it offers a tangible model for the rebirth of Europe that is culturally viable, traditionalist and exciting.

This brings us to a position from which we can analyse the "metapolitical" impact of the New Right movement in the first forty years of its life, and finally the manifestation of this movement in Britain, which is home to the most prominent of the groups which define themselves as New Right.

GRECE has maintained its position within France as a relatively influential think tank and publishes two French language journals, *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Elements*, as well as a report on its annual conference. De Benoist has gained some kudos within the mainstream French conservative establishment through his collaboration on setting up *Le Figaro Magazine* with right-leaning daily newspaper *Le Figaro*. In 1978 he was awarded *Le Grand Prix de l'Essai*, from the *Académie Française*, for his book *Vu de Droite: Anthologie Critique des idées Contemporaines*.

De Benoist and GRECE have been remarkably consistent in their balanced critique of modernity and their advocacy of a Traditionalist alternative. They stand in opposition to the spread of American style multiculturalism in Europe and are in favour of separate cultures and social groups, a position known as "ethnopluralism". Consistent with this approach, they have opposed Arab and Pakistani immigration to France, but have encouraged links with, and an understanding of, Islamic culture. De Benoist has always denounced racism and anti-Semitism as irrational, and has never been an advocate of racial and cultural supremacism.

In his books and journalism, De Benoist has staunchly criticised Jean Marie Le Pen's *Front National* and has distanced himself from Hitler and

the wartime collaborationist Vichy regime. Indeed, he stuck to this principled approach even to the extent of provoking a split within GRECE in the late 1990s. Sadly, despite this, GRECE has not been without its vehement critics within the mainstream media, with their obsessive liberal monoculture and their *reductio ad hitlerum* approach to many conservative viewpoints. GRECE has been tarred with the same "far right" slur as countless other conservative groups in the west, and De Benoist himself has been accused of "dressing Fascism up in new clothes".

This entrenched media prejudice has limited the scope of the New Right's cultural project in France. Also, as previously mentioned, most of the GRECE publications remain in the French language only, despite De Benoist's recent foray into the English speaking literary world. An unassuming man without an excessive self-publicity drive, De Benoist's international position as leading New Right ideologue has increasingly been yielded to more outspoken characters.

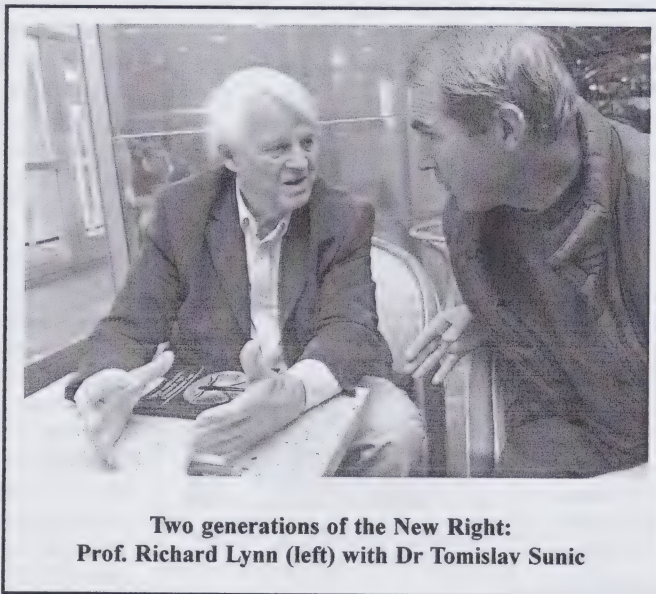
Prominent among this new generation is Croatian born former diplomat Tomislav Sunic. Now a United States Citizen, Sunic has lectured widely on the modern world and the postmodern condition. As well as the study of the New Right phenomenon that has been mentioned, Sunic has released *Homo Americanus: Child of the Post-modern Age*, a studious analysis of contemporary American society from a Traditionalist perspective. He describes his work as "rooted in the New-Right tradition". His critique of the de-culturing effects of the modern west are both intelligent and insightful. His credibility as an academic authority has been somewhat tarnished by his association with dubious far right groups such as the notorious National Alliance in the

United States. Despite this, he remains one of the most promising of the new generation of New Right thinkers.

Probably the most notable of the contemporary New Right elements is the group of the same name that crystallised around Troy Southgate in London in 2005. Despite his recent embrace of "Metapolitics", Southgate's career shows him to be an indefatigable political animal, with an involvement in various political movements stretching back to his teenage years in the early 1980s. He is a prolific writer who maintains an online magazine, *Synthesis*, as well as a metapolitical journal *New Imperium*.

Beginning his career as an activist in the Evola inspired "Political Soldier" faction within the British National Front, Southgate's political writings show little affinity with the New Right as understood by De Benoist and GRECE. As an intensely radical young man, Southgate was involved in the breakaway group from the National Front, which formed the International Third Position, along with future British National Party (BNP) leader Nick Griffin in 1989. A couple of years down the line, in 1992, Southgate broke away from this group amidst a cloud of acrimonious denunciations of his former colleagues for misappropriation of funds. He called his new Group the English Nationalist Movement, though its platform had little which would appeal to most people who call themselves English Nationalists.

The anti-modernist philosophy that Southgate and his colleagues developed over this period, resembles an attempted fascism without leaders. It rejected the idea of the nation state and advocated small regional communes run along lines of cultural or ethnic exclusivity. It flirted with ideas both of separatism from modern society and with the possibility of armed insurrection. In an outrageous statement, Southgate once suggested that would-be revolutionaries should join the Territorial Army in order to gain the military skills needed to turn against the government. In "organising for the collapse", the English Nationalist Movement completely misread the revolutionary potential of 1990s British society. Having made absolutely no impact on the outside world, the movement folded and was replaced by



Two generations of the New Right:
Prof. Richard Lynn (left) with Dr Tomislav Sunic

the even more radicalised National Revolutionary Faction (NRF) in 1998. This tiny movement denied the need for a central organising force and constituted itself on the basis of "leaderless resistance cells". Like most groups of its nature, its sparse membership spent most of their energies in fighting, and the NRF entirely dissipated within a couple of years.

Southgate's main contribution to political thought in the 1990s was his input to the ideology now known as National Anarchism. This is relevant to Traditionalism for the sole reason that it renewed interest in the possibility of small, self-managing communities to develop a more realistic alternative to the modern world than open intellectual 'revolt'. National Anarchism is pan-nationalist, passionately anti-authoritarian, ethnopluralist, left-leaning economically and socially libertarian. It is far removed in temperament and goals from the New Right as is commonly understood, and a world away from Traditionalism.

Having apparently tired of politics, Southgate eschewed activism, embraced the doctrine of Metapolitics and established the European New Right (NR) Group in January 2005. Most of the inner members of the NR have been Southgate's colleagues in one or more of his 1990s revolutionary groups, and its philosophy remains recognisably National Anarchist. The Chairman of the NR, flamboyant BNP dissident Jonathan Bowden, has recently added a more Evolian slant to its ideological output. A fascinating collection of Southgate's key writings is published by Integral Tradition Publishing as *Tradition and Revolution* [reviewed in *H&D* Issues 34-35].

With this background, Southgate and the NR seem to be in an unlikely position to be advocates of a credible Traditionalist movement. However, in the three years since its foundation, the NR has established active branches in twelve countries, including The Netherlands, Czech Republic, USA, New Zealand, Australia, Bulgaria, Sweden, France, Norway, Ukraine, Belgium and Portugal. Declaring itself "Conservative, European, Revolutionary", the NR has produced a website well stocked with articles on subjects ranging from culture, to race, religion and Traditionalist thinkers.

On its website www.new-right.org the NR's articles and opinions aim to put it in line with the current of thought emanating from GRECE. Some valuable and interesting points of view are presented here, although an examination of its meetings and Internet correspondence portrays a different reality. Since its foundations, the NR has made essential to its activities a series of clandestine conferences. To date there have been thirteen such meetings, which have attracted a range of diverse and well-respected speakers. Amongst these have been Tomislav Sunic, the noted Anglo-Saxonist and Orthodox priest Andrew Phillips, and Russian politician and geo-political theorist Alexander Dugin. An overview of the demographic of the NR's supporters, however, gives an indication of the internal problems that stand in the way of its project. The attendees of the meetings are a mixture of old fashioned British nationalists, affected public-school types, and, for want of a better term, pig-ignorant neo-nazi skinheads. The overtly elitist agenda cultivated by Bowden and Southgate for the meetings ensures that the project of the NR is largely alienated from, and misunderstood by, its base of supporters. As an example of this, a talk at the tenth meeting on the subject of British occult artist Austin Osman Spare was met by stony silence and incomprehension by the majority of the audience. The enthusiasm of the NR's supporters, if not its leadership, lies not in the direction of strictly cultural Metapolitics, but more towards right-wing politics of a more lurid and fantastic kind.

On close terms with the British NR is the controversial Maltese eccentric, Norman Lowell. Seemingly alone among New Right groups, Lowell's *Imperium Europa* harbours more earthy political ambitions than the metapolitical traditions of the New Right. Lowell's platform involves gaining power within the European Parliament, before transforming it into a strong "Imperium" with a geo-political focus. Some of his ideas, such as that of a revived European state organised along lines of regional autonomy, and the primacy of politics over economic concerns, are consistent with general Traditionalist and New Right thought. The bulk of his ideas are

both fantastic and far-fetched, and, worryingly, have wide and enthusiastic acceptance within the British NR.

Lowell has a very poor understanding of political reality. In his world, the coming European Imperium will gain a world position of power by making itself a primary producer of grain. It would then literally hold the 'developing' world to ransom by withholding food shipments, until their leaders recalled their people who had immigrated to Europe. The new supremacy also hinges on the military support of an "Elite army". This army will be modified eugenically in Russia using DNA taken from ancient sarcophagi. Lowell also has an absurdly wide definition of the European people, whom he calls "Europids", similar to the definition of "Aryans" in Nazi thought. Lowell's Europids extend to include all Eurasians, North and South Americans, as well as many people who are commonly accepted to be Chinese.

This bland Utopianism is unfortunately characteristic of much of the NR. A sad divergence from the principles and aims of the New Right is also evident from a survey of the activities of the NR's online egroup. The majority of the topics discussed can be broken down into the following few categories. Firstly, there is disproportionate coverage of American internal politics, almost all of it from an anti-Semitic viewpoint. Another large group of discussed topics involve South American and Middle Eastern Nationalist and socialist governments, especially that of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. A pro-Iranian and anti-Israel bias lies at the heart of any discussion of foreign affairs. A third, large concern revolves around promoting various neo-folk and punk bands.

This is stretching even the broad definition of Metapolitics as defined by the New Right. When European affairs are discussed at all, it is from a disturbingly anti-traditional and pro-Islamic stance. The NR is not pro-Islamic in the GRECE's ethnopluralist sense. The NR insinuates sympathy for Islamist terrorism as a means of propping up their flagging anti-establishment agenda and as an offshoot of a profound anti-Semitism alien to the New Right. Any challenge to this Islamist view is likely to be condemned as a "Zionist" or a "philo-semitic" standpoint.

New Right style Identitarians are vilified as "idiotarians" by outspoken members of the group. This shows an unspoken affinity with Neo-Nazi activists such as David Myatt, who converted to Jihadist Islam in 1999 in order to challenge what he termed as the "Zionist Occupation Government". When all this is taken into account, it is clear that the New Right tradition in Britain has taken an astonishing deviation from the principles of the movement as developed by De Benoist and GRECE since 1968.

To conclude, it must be said that, in the first forty years of its existence at least, the New Right's metapolitical agenda has been a very limited success, at the most. New Right thought is only just beginning to disseminate within the wider Traditionalist community and, at the current rate, it will be many years before these ideas break beyond the bounds of this generally insular group of people. The true message of the New Right is also likely to be further besmirched by individuals and groups who give a false or misleading interpretation of its aims.

At the very least, this will make the very difficult task of cultural paradigm shift even more daunting. It is more likely to negatively impact the movement by making it widely perceived as a laughing stock. This opinion would do ill justice to the hopeful vision painstakingly researched by GRECE. Its hard to escape the conclusion that New Right groups would meet with more success if they took a less dogmatic view on political involvement, and if they stopped concentrating so much on being "Revolutionary Conservatives" and started being "Conservatives".

A self-consciously revolutionary movement will only ever attract the alienated in an affluent society like the post-modern West. The success of the New Left has rested on them largely brushing the uncomfortable "solution" of left-wing revolution under the carpet. By doing this, and by engaging in issues that people genuinely care about, they have been able to cultivate a wide acceptance of their program. People look at the New Left




Jonathan Bowden, a leading member of the British New Right

agenda with broad sympathy even when they do not agree with large swathes of its post-Marxist implications. The comments and analysis of formidable intellects such as John Pilger, Tariq Ali and Noam Chomsky are listened to and respected. The barely coherent ramblings of Norman Lowell are ignored, vilified or laughed at. The *New Left Review* is an excellent journal widely available in bookshops such as Waterstones. New Right journals are sold in sweaty meetings hosted in pubs.

The New Right has presented a challenging and inspiring philosophy of European identity and renewal that continues to inform the Traditionalist movement. Its lasting contribution is to inspire the related but distinct school of Radical Traditionalism, a new, academic and spiritual movement that has emerged to meet the challenging landscape of the twenty first century. However, by its own standards of Metapolitics, the New Right itself can only be judged to be a failure. To bring about the sort of paradigm shift deemed necessary by Gramsci and his fellow intellectual dissidents to effect lasting political change, the underlying culture of the government, civil service, schools, universities, media and urban intelligentsia need to be won over. A profound alteration of strategy will be needed to make any inroads into this hostile ground. We can see that these crucial battlefields are still in possession of the liberal-democratic consensus, or its radical New Left cousin movements. The task of making the New Right's message intelligible and relevant to a modern world that sorely needs it, still remains a daunting challenge for the future, forty years after the birth of GRECE.

David Wingfield, Nottingham, England

Editors Note: This article first appeared in issue number 1 of the journal *Initiate* to which we give full credit. Single issue 8 Euro; Four issue subscription 25 Euro. Available from Integral Tradition Publishing www.integraltradition.com, or Insula Sacra Productions www.theinitiate.co.uk - for information contact editors@theinitiate.co.uk The Issue number II is available January 2009.



THE MISSING LINK

to understanding what's really going on in this country and the world is the true identity of the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. Have you been a Christian-Patriot for many years and found that some things just "don't add up"? The real nature of the forces of good and evil have been hidden from our people through politically correct manipulation from the government, the media, the schools, and the churches by both the so-called 'right' and 'left'.

Learn the missing message that links it all together, clarifies the confusion, and reveals your racial destiny, by ordering a copy of the book *War Heritage* for only \$25.00. Included will be a FREE copy of our Doctrinal Statement of Beliefs and lists of other books, tapes, and videos opening your eyes to amazing truths that you haven't seen before.

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Remembering an Old Comrade



Alan Smith who died in June 2008 ten days short of his 78th birthday (see obituary *H&D* 34), was a non-partisan, active supporter and political stalwart in Waltham Forest. Though he later retired to the Essex coast, he remained informed and active. He was originally part of a nucleus of activists in the early days of the National Front in Walthamstow, organised by C.B. Higgins, that laid the groundwork in establishing the Waltham Forest branch, later built up and ably led by the late John King.

Alan - motivated and in 'high gear' - at one point during the 1970s was a nexus between National Front and British Movement members in East London, whereby cooperation was sought in a joint activity distributing in designated areas the BM leaflet advertising Richard Harwood/Verrall's revisionist classic *Did Six Million Really Die?* In response there were many subsequent orders placed by the public.

Another campaign of that time saw the old Racial Preservation Society (RPS) leaflet *What is a Liberal?* given an equally selected drop through the letter box which hit the proverbial target. The text described liberalism as a form of racial masochism.

He was also occupied with the usual branch activities of electioneering and weekly leafletting, as well as being one of the "night time workers", who put up the NF posters in the area.

He supported Lady Jane Birdwood's 'Stop the Rot' march and rally by distributing adhesive labels promoting the rally (which commenced with a march from Smithfield in the City of London to Trafalgar Square which was stewarded by BM members from London and Cardiff).

Alan was for seventeen years a regular attendee at the Diksmuide festival gathering in Flanders, and had over time made friends and acquaintances with other European patriots including Florentine Rost Van Tonningen. He was always conservatively dressed and had a biting sense of humour. Having done National Service he could when necessity arose defend himself as well as others. He was someone you could rely on - especially if confronted by leftwing opponents. You could count on 'Old Smithy'.

As a family man he stood for traditional values, whose world view encompassed the need for supranational and racial resurgence. Alan's zeal and steadfast outlook was certainly derived from the creed that shaped his thinking: National Socialism.

*We Are Not The Last Of Yesterday,
But The First Of Tomorrow*

H. Sundermann



Letters From Readers



Sir - I would like to thank Ian Freeman for reviewing my book [*Tradition & Revolution*, 2007] in such immense detail, but rather than go into detail myself about the various points he made about my political opinions I would like to clarify my position as far as the chapter entitled 'A Sussex Swan: The Wodenic Mysteries of a Small English Town' (pp.172-

77) is concerned. When I wrote this piece I essentially set out to demonstrate how it is possible to blend a series of seemingly disconnected facts into some kind of cohesive whole. In other words, it was an exercise in myth-making and - let's face it - this kind of thing has often served a useful purpose once significant numbers of people have become convinced by the issues concerned. This is not to say that I imagined for one moment that my various geographical pronouncements would be taken seriously, of course, but I can assure Ian that I'm not really mentally ill (honest!) and that I did originally set out to arrive at a basic premise during one mischievous afternoon last autumn and that the publishers were keen to include the article in question. At the same time, however, I hope that does not sound disingenuous and I am very proud to be involved with the group Woden's Folk, although I do not personally accept that Thor is riding around the sky in a chariot or that Heimdall is perched on a rainbow somewhere. These things are purely allegorical as far as I am concerned and the real god in all this is Nature itself. On reflection, therefore, I don't think the essay should have been included in the book without some kind of explanatory preamble.

There is another chapter in the book (*The Boot Is On The Other Foot*, pp.134-5) where I portray resistance to Zionist rule in Occupied Palestine as though it were a bizarre manifestation of revolutionary Jewish opposition towards a futuristic society in which a form of totalitarian English nationalism has taken hold of the population, but the fact that it is meant tongue-in-cheek is comparatively easier for the reader to discern. Finally, I would like to comment on one further matter and that's the manner in which Ian - and it has to be said - adopts a more patronising tone in relation to the period in which I joined the National Front in the early-1980s. He believes that, had I joined slightly earlier, I would have turned out rather differently as a result of being schooled in the ways of electioneering. However, this is not to say that I haven't examined - and laboured beneath - the parliamentary charade myself, in fact I take the same position as Muammar al-Qathafi as far as the electoral charade is concerned and the slogans 'participation, not representation' and 'a party is simply the rule of a part over the whole' spring to mind. But regardless of all that, thanks again Ian and I hope your review will encourage people to check out the book for themselves.

Best wishes,

Troy Southgate, South London.



Sir - UK based, retired journalist, seeks reciprocal military history research (various 19th and 20th century topics) in the following locations; * Boston Harvard (especially Harvard) * Springfield - Holyoak - Chicopee, MA. USA; * St. Louis, MS; * Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; * Friburg, Germany: Quality reciprocal research guarantees. Formal

research commissions welcome. Contact; braveheart562002@yahoo.com

Robert McNeil, Leeds, Yorkshire

Editor's Note: In future H&D will only be accepting letters from readers that are sent by email. However, in the very rare exception that you do not have a PC then we may accept a short letter (one or two paragraphs only) that is neatly typed. We would like to remind readers that both the Editor and deputy editor are volunteers and take no payment for their time spent producing the magazine. This being the case we can no longer devote valuable time to rewriting long hand-written letters that some readers have been sending in.



Sir - You may recall that BBC television programme a few years back exposing the appallingly low calibre of some police recruits. The undercover reporter obviously singled out the most uncouth and moronic specimens, focusing on the single issue of race. But the clear intention was to reinforce accusations of 'institutional racism' against the police force as a whole. First reactions to the programme were horrified gasps from the Home Office and squeals of rage from the Race Relations Industry, while chief constables bowed their heads and re-dedicated their careers to multi-racialism. Henceforth, we were told, rigorous precautions would be taken to ensure that anyone prone to 'racism' is rejected at the earliest possible stage in recruitment. Exactly how such individuals will be detected remains to be seen. Will it be cunningly-crafted psychological questionnaires? These are of dubious efficacy, since their use elsewhere shows that people soon get to know the kind of answers that pass muster. Or will recruits be attached to sophisticated lie-detector gadgets as well?

But who would want to work for an employer adopting such measures anyway? Multi-racial indoctrination of police recruits is already a 'sheep-dip' routine, and will doubtless be intensified as a result of this TV programme. But will any of this really work, and what kind of evidence will be needed to placate the race-mixers? Unlike political beliefs, the preference of people for those of their own race and culture is not susceptible to argument and propaganda. They may conceal this for reasons of personal expediency; all job applicants are prudent about what they disclose to potential employers. So however dutifully police recruits respond to multi-racial prompts from their instructors, they remain subject to Shakespeare's worldly observation that 'My words fly up; my thoughts remain below.'

The loony Left has always demanded political conformity as a condition of employment; and enforced multi-racialism is clearly an attempt by the Home Office and others to politicise the police force. Like everybody else, police officers are entitled to choose their brand of politics, and it is a pretty safe bet that very many privately favour the BNP more than any other party. But even assuming the entire force consisted of multi-racial clones, what would this do to confidence in the police as impartial guardians of those citizens with a very different political outlook? Would we not then be entitled to accuse the police of 'institutional multi-racialism'?

Fortunately, there have also been many rank-and-file subordinates who contrived to subvert, frustrate or temper the impact of corrupt, inept or oppressive policies, often at great personal risk. In so doing they proved themselves men of honour and principle, and not mere apparatchiks. Meanwhile there are values transcending the 'Establishment' which no man of honour can ignore, whatever the cost to his career. So, given that loyalty and discrimination are indivisible (like authority and responsibility), how then does a police officer reconcile his patriotic and civic duty with multi-racial directives? He knows by now that any alien he approaches in the line of duty is quite likely to make career-damaging accusations of 'racism' whatever the circumstances. And knowing his superiors' fear of such accusations, he will surely be tempted to 'go easy' on alien suspects. Thus the net effect of multi-racial indoctrination is most likely to be even more contempt for the law among aliens, at the expense of the indigenous population. And this is not mere conjecture; examples are already commonplace in many parts of the country. So while the BBC is congratulating itself on winning a battle for liberal luvvies, the rest of us are losing the war.

Yours for Race and Nation,

F Kimbal Johnson, Louth, Lincolnshire



Sir - I hope that it will now be clear to every Nationalist that the globalist ideology is dead. Alan Greenspan, High Priest in the Sanhedrin of Mammon, revered as an Oracle during his 20-year tenure as Chairman of the US Federal Reserve, recently admitted to the US Congress that his economic philosophy had "a flaw."

The Week, an English news magazine reported on 8/11/08 that Greenspan testified that he had spent his life "convinced that markets work best when unfettered by government regulation. In the grip of this quasi-religious belief he kept interest rates absurdly low in the early part of the decade - thus creating a monstrous housing bubble; and he opposed all efforts to regulate the trading of the exotic financial instruments (the mortgage-backed securities & creditswap derivatives) that lie at the heart of the current crisis. 'I made a mistake', Greenspan concluded; the global collapse of banks and financial institutions, he admitted, had left him 'in a state of shocked disbelief.'"

Tim Ruten reported in the *Los Angeles Times* that financiers and bankers "simply didn't care about the long term consequences of their wheeler-dealing" and that "was obvious to everyone - everyone, that is, without Greenspan's 'ideological blindness.'"

Some were sympathetic as the 82 year old Greenspan admitted his mistakes to the US Congress but Phillip Inman highlighted an important point about Greenspan (in *The Guardian* - flagship of the left!) that "one might be more sympathetic were he not still a director and adviser at the hedge fund Paulson & Co, which has made a mint betting that companies involved in sub prime home loans would go bust, and which bet almost £1bn that most major UK banks would 'drop like stones.'"

So, as *The Week* concludes: "Greenspan is even now making money by aggressively exploiting the flaws in a system he created. Some apology." Yours faithfully

Adam Clarke, Filey, Yorkshire



Sir - It has long been assumed that the Churchill archives at Cambridge had been edited, giving a sanitized account that glossed over much of recent history. However, against all the rules, thousands of pages of minutes have been saved in their original state, which present a drastically different version of events. The wartime assistant to the deputy

secretary to the war cabinet, 1939-1945, Laurence Burgis, took notes of crucial and often historic cabinet meetings. These papers contain much that was later "deleted" or "sanitized" as Churchill insisted that notes on the meetings were to be burnt in the grate.

By keeping these authentic notes until his death in 1971 Burgis could have been prosecuted under the 1911 official secrets act and imprisoned, or even shot as a 5th columnist. The notes contain mentions of Pearl Harbor, Churchill's naivety over Stalin and his socialist atrocities, and Churchill's general political and military ineptitude. No mention occurs as in Soviet notes of Churchill's alcohol dependence or his regularly sleeping through the day.

Among other things the papers confirm that even under drugs and torture, Rudolph Hess never divulged the names of those in the British war cabinet and royal family who wanted to accept a peace deal with Hitler. Churchill condoned the Soviet rape squads sent into Germany at the wars end and helped Stalin hide the Soviet Katyn Forest murders, like Stalin, blaming the Germans for the crime. Hess wanted the truth told of this and civilians guaranteed safety.

On Churchill's orders the S.O.E murdered Reinhard Heydrich in order to bring reprisals on the Czechs and thereby harden their resolve against Germany. The papers reveal that Churchill joked about the huge bombing raids on defenceless German dormitory towns. Sir Anthony Blunt said that as the war was closing, Churchill did not want to feed or house large numbers of German refugees, and preferred them burnt in their homes.

It has been suggested by the Bletchley code breaker John Burrows, that the universally unpopular General Montgomery was pushed into taking on Rommel in North Africa, by threats of exposure of his bizarre sexuality. Moreover Montgomery's victories were secured largely by the Enigma code breaker, which was used to decipher German signals. A fact confirmed by Sir Harold Scott and super-spy and Stalin apologist, Sir Anthony Blunt, and in off the cuff remarks by Churchill's bodyguard, Walter Thomson.

Churchill, through the banker Juan March, secretly bribed General Franco and his generals with millions of dollars, not to side with Hitler in W.W.II, and Britain remained silent over the Stalin backed socialist atrocities in the civil war. Strangely, in view of the current depiction of the Holocaust by Hollywood, the papers make no mention of the plight of the Jewish people held by Germany.

Just as British intelligence files, the Russian archives, the Red Cross and the R.A.M.C make no mention of what we now know as the Holocaust. Chamberlain, who was adamant that war with Hitler was avoidable, had said that Britain was the greatest sea power at the time and if Hitler planned a war with Britain he would have built up his navy, but he did not as he believed Britain would stay out of the conflict.

Russian spy Ursula Kuczynski, codenamed "Sonja" serviced Oxford during WWII and claimed Chamberlain was murdered by Churchill after he accepted 500,000 pounds from the Rothschild syndicate to take the country to war. In much the same way that Lord Levy is rumoured to have bribed Tony Blair to take Britain to war with Iraq. Both must be numbered among Britain's greatest traitors.

Best Regards,

Mr T. Stokes, Doncaster, Yorkshire (www.thetruthseeker.co.uk)



Sir - So Harriet Harman would like to see more gays in parliament; is that gays and lesbians, or are we already over subscribed for lesbians? I'll take queer folk seriously, when I have an understanding on such things as Sir Elton John, having scouts as a dancing group, or being stuck in traffic once (I forgot it was on) going into Manchester, only to see a float travel past with five men prancing around naked, but for nappies. What's that all about?

What are you, if you could do without the hassle? Are you a misogynist or a pessimist? Perhaps if women weren't such a pain in the back pocket, then there wouldn't be so many gays to start with. What parliament needs isn't more gays, blacks or disabled (funny how no one mentions Jews). It's more pessimists.

If more people had had the state of mind, 'expect the worst', we wouldn't be in the mess we're in. Leaders of hope and optimism will run into lots of problems, that a pessimist would see a mile away. I see no one is talking about bring in a certain percentage of anarchists or swingers or how about we find out what percentage of the population regard themselves as little Englanders or even just working class. (Not using the BBC or government polls.)

When you're not a pessimist, bad things happen. Take the donor card decision (which was the right one) the proposed Grave-robbing Bill. The problem with the present system is, what happens if one person has a donor card and another needy person doesn't, which one do you save? The problem with the proposed bill is, what happens when one of the patients is rich and famous and another isn't. You will be one step away from friends of the rich, finding an ordinary citizen, with a suitable blood type and bashing them over the head and leaving them in an alley, near the hospital. But knowing the sort of scumbags we've got running the country, that's probably what they had in mind, that would explain their obsession with large databases.

A solution would be that you only qualify for an organ if you have carried a card for a year or more, to the point that if you haven't, then you don't get one, even if there's an organ available. All decisions need to be based on medical grounds only, so the organization in charge of who gets what, shouldn't be told the background of the individuals involved.

Paul Swindell, Oldham, Lancashire

Movement News Update

After a long wait the BNP finally won a council by-election on November 13th 2008, but the party's by-election performances during the last quarter of 2008 were strangely inconsistent. On October 2nd David Owens achieved a creditable 239 votes (13%) in the Bourne Abbey ward of **Lincolnshire** County Council, finishing in third place and humiliating the UKIP, a party which won two European parliamentary seats in the East Midlands at the 2004 elections but whose candidate was bottom of the poll in Bourne Abbey this time with just 41 votes (2.2%). Mr. Owens' result raises the intriguing possibility that the BNP's 2009 European campaign may have a better chance in the East Midlands than in its former North West stronghold.

Two less encouraging by-elections occurred on the same day. In Kirkleatham ward, **Redcar & Cleveland**, a low profile campaign by the North East BNP produced 106 votes (5.8%) for their candidate Dawn Castle, who finished bottom of the poll. Meanwhile in the staunch Tory ward of West Ruislip, **Hillingdon**, the BNP's ill advised venture into West London achieved 111 votes (4.3%). The National Front's Ian Edward polled 52 votes (2.0%) after an error by council officials resulted in the wrong NF emblem being used on ballot papers.

One week later the BNP took the worst nationalist vote for some time in Alexandra ward, one of the whitest areas of the multi-ethnic borough of **Haringey**. Frederick Halsey was bottom of the poll with 27 votes (0.9%). On the same day a **Kent** County Council by-election in Herne Bay (home of the veteran "South African patriot" and former UKIP member Alan Harvey, who has managed to alienate just about every sector of the nationalist movement during the last thirty years) saw the BNP crush UKIP again, with 399 votes (7.7%) to UKIP's 252 (4.9%).

The resignation of former BNP councillor Colin Auty led to an awkward by-election for the party in Dewsbury East ward, **Kirklees**, on October 16th. In four successive contests in the ward the BNP had polled over 1,000 votes, but this time Joe Barber not only lost the seat (as widely expected) but polled only 690 votes. The BNP share of the vote fell from 35.6% in May 2006 when ex-councillor Auty was elected to 17.1% in the by-election, a dismal result which contributed to the extinction of the Kirklees BNP branch a few weeks later.

In Tudor ward, **Watford**, BNP candidate Guy Dickens remained on the ballot paper despite cancelling his campaign following the sudden death of his wife. Mr Dickens polled 83 votes (4.5%). A third contest on October 16th saw a much higher profile North East BNP campaign in the South Bank ward of **Redcar & Cleveland**, where the BNP's Dennis Collinson polled 206 votes (15.8%), a small increase on the party's previous performance in the ward.

A busy month of election campaigns continued on October 23rd in Loughborough, Dishley & Hathern ward, **Charnwood**, close to the area where the BNP won a council seat in 2007. This time the BNP vote fell by 2.6% to 234 votes (13.9%). Former Loughborough BNP organiser Andy Holders stood for the NF, though effectively as a paper candidate with no leaflets issued - a pointless exercise which proved an embarrassment when he polled only 16 votes (0.9%).

In East Wittering ward, **Chichester**, the pattern of BNP victories over the UKIP continued with Andrew Emerson polling 125 votes (12.3%) for the BNP and finishing ahead of Labour. UKIP came bottom of the poll with 4.8%.

A double by-election in the Wednesfield North and South wards, **Wolverhampton**, looked a good prospect for the BNP given the bizarre circumstances: the previous Conservative councillors had been forced to resign after admitting that they had used their home as a brothel, and in one of the wards the BNP had previously polled over 15%. In

the event the results were disappointing - the BNP polled 337 votes (11.8%) in one ward - a decline of 3.6% - and 358 votes (14.4%) in the other.

Cumbria has been the BNP's best performing region during 2008 - the only part of the North West where the party still seems to be making progress. In St John's ward, **Allerdale**, on October 30th the BNP's Clive Jefferson came a respectable third with 257 votes (20.2%). Another desperately poor performance in London marred the BNP's night: 62 votes (2.4%) in Kentish Town ward, **Camden**, made more tolerable by UKIP's even worse 21 votes (0.8%).

With most of the former Scottish BNP activists now having deserted Griffin, the remnants of the **Glasgow** branch managed to field Charles Baillie on November 6th in the second Baillieston ward by-election within two months, but Mr Baillie managed only 46 votes (1.0%), finishing sixth

out of seven candidates, down from the 73 votes he polled a few weeks earlier. The most interesting aspect of the election was the transferable voting system: when the BNP was eliminated, 16 of Mr Baillie's votes had no other preference, fourteen had the Conservatives as second choice, nine the SNP, six the Trotskyist Scottish Socialist Party, and three Labour. I'm not sure what that says about Mr Griffin's few supporters north of the border.

The BNP went more than four years without winning a council by-election, since Dan Kelley took Goresbrook ward in **Barking & Dagenham** on September 16th 2004. On November 13th 2008 David Owens (who had fought a county council by-election a few weeks earlier) broke that duck, winning the Fenside ward on **Boston** Borough Council with 279 votes (42.6%). On many occasions in the past the BNP has done particularly well in areas where another minor party or independents have already undermined voters' habit of supporting the three main parties. Burnley and Stoke are the most obvious examples. This Lincolnshire council was dominated

for a year by the "Boston Bypass Independents", a single issue pressure group which swept to power in 2007. The initial success and later discrediting of this bypass group was a vital boost to the BNP in Boston, though one should take nothing away from the new Cllr Owens and the local BNP branch for this substantial victory.

Party members giddy with success were brought back to earth with a bump on the same evening, when the BNP polled 106 votes (9.6%) in North Road ward, **Darlington**, and the party's share of the vote declined in the Markfield ward of **Hinckley & Bosworth** in Leicestershire, where Colin Gilmore polled 263 votes (14.5%).

Two weeks later one of the BNP's most underperforming regions, the West Midlands, witnessed another disappointing result as Malcolm Moore took only 90 votes (5.2%) in Birchills & Leamore ward, **Walsall**, despite the advantage of an Asian Tory opponent - who actually won the seat in an 80% white area! Defeating yet another paper UKIP candidate was scant consolation.

Seven days before Christmas BNP members enjoyed the early present of two very good by-election results. Simon Nicholson in the Sells & Sandwith ward of **Cumbria** County Council polled 418 votes (40.1%), just sixteen votes behind the Labour winner, while Ivan Hammonds in the Ibstock & Heather ward of **NW Leicestershire** was only fifteen votes from winning with 645 (30.8%). UKIP had polled strongly in this ward at the 2007 elections but subsequently disappeared from the scene, and the BNP was just 62 votes from victory at a by-election in the same ward in January 2008.

Many had predicted a BNP win in Ibstock this time, given the national swing against Labour since the previous contest, but the Conservatives won a close three-way contest.

As this column has previously noted, the Tory revival presents Nick Griffin with a strategic problem - should he continue his approach of deradicalising the BNP and making it seem more mainstream, or should he emphasise the party's former racial nationalist outlook so as to differentiate



Newly elected Cllr David Owens of Boston, Lincolnshire, won the BNP's first local by-election victory in more than four years



Veteran nationalist campaigner Colin Jordan has issued a summons against the Chief Constable of North Yorkshire

his candidates more clearly from the resurgent Conservatives?

On January 8th 2009 the first by-election of the New Year showed that there are places which remain unimpressed by David Cameron's Tory revival. National Front candidate Mike Cooper took 184 votes (7.4%) in the Drypool ward of **Hull** City Council (part of John Prescott's Hull East constituency) pushing the Conservatives into fourth place. A former BNP activist, Mike Cooper is part of a small group of nationalists who defected from the BNP to set up an NF branch a few months ago.

This result boosted the NF after the party was beset by further rumours of splits and resignations towards the end of 2008. Frank McAllister had polled just 25 votes (1.3%) in the ultra-Tory Northwood ward of **Hillingdon**.

Among other smaller nationalist parties, the Democratic Nationalists (formed by dissident BNP members in Yorkshire) took on another safe Tory ward, the Bingley Town ward of **Bradford** City Council. Ex-BNP councillor Dr Jim Lewthwaite polled 61 votes (1.9%). As has become customary after weak nationalist results, Dr Lewthwaite was able to seek consolation in having defeated the UKIP candidate.

A much longer established and better funded party, the English Democrats, managed to contest only one by-election during the last quarter of 2008 - the St George West ward of **Bristol**, where the EDs could only muster 93 votes (3.4%) despite the absence of BNP or UKIP opposition.

Aside from the mixed news on the election front, the biggest news story among nationalists during the autumn was the leaking of the BNP's membership list, which has been widely published online and pored over with relish by the party's enemies, who especially enjoyed some of the comments which the BNP's admin department added to certain names. Clive Jefferson, the party's Cumbria press officer and recipient of a BNP activist's award, is listed by his party bosses with the comment "Convictions - monitor". I understand that one of the convictions involved driving under the influence of illegal drugs. Paul Shaddick of Glastonbury is listed by his local organiser Mike Howson as follows: "describes himself as a witch - potential embarrassment if active." Mr Shaddick is one of a long line of witches in the movement, including the mothers of former BNP national organiser Tony Lecomber and Solidarity union boss Patrick Harrington, as well as former Brighton organiser Jill Jerome. There has been much speculation about the leak but so far no reliable facts. Two former BNP officials have been arrested in connection with the affair, but released without charge.

While the BNP's legal threats over the membership list were the usual empty noise, autumn 2008 saw several important legal actions for nationalists. The case of Fredrick Töben, who defeated a German extradition attempt after being arrested at Heathrow Airport, is detailed on page 11 of this issue. Elsewhere the long running Heretical Press case ended with two more guilty verdicts for Simon Sheppard.

Sheppard was convicted on 16 (out of 18) and co-defendant Stephen Whittle (better known under his pen name Luke O'Farrell) was convicted on 5 charges of possessing, publishing and distributing racially inflammatory material.

The fact that most of this was published on an internet server in the U.S., where it is entirely legal, did not save Sheppard and Whittle from conviction in the British courts: the first time the race laws have been used against online publications.

The final convictions related to the pamphlet *Tales of the Holohoax*. Prosecuting counsel Jonathan Sandiford said of the pamphlet, and other satirical material produced by the Heretical Two:

The generally accepted history of the Holocaust is treated as a matter for humorous discussion; the accounts of people who survived that event are held up for ridicule and contempt.

It is clearly abusive and insulting to suggest that the Jews have made up and are sustaining what would be the largest fraud in history for their own gain.

Thus the British authorities are (as predicted for several years) using the race laws as backdoor criminalisation of Holocaust revisionism, despite Parliament's unwillingness to introduce specific anti-revisionist laws.

Lacking any sense of irony, the Crown Prosecution Service pursued (and convicted) Simon Sheppard for republishing an excerpt from George Lincoln Rockwell's *In Hoc Signo Vinces*, relating to the propagandistic value of the swastika as a deliberately provocative image:

It is after all only a few black lines - but it drives Jews out of their usual sly and calculating frame of mind and makes them hysterical and foolish. To them, it is not just the lines, but the awful threat of ruthless exposure, swift justice and terrible vengeance which their guilty consciences tell them they richly deserve. It is like a picture of the electric chair to a hunted murderer.

The Heretical Two remain in California seeking political asylum in the land of the First Amendment. Their persecutors may find that Rockwell's words were prophetic.

Colin Jordan, 85 year old campaigner for a Britain for the British, issued a summons under the Police (Property) Act 1897 against the Chief Constable of North Yorkshire in respect of a seizure of property in excess of 8,831 items some ten years ago and still retained, the police refusing to return this property on an equitable basis, despite the connected prosecution having been stayed at Leeds Crown Court in 2001.

This latest seizure was an act of revenge by North Yorkshire police for their humiliation in Colin Jordan's victory in 1992, when at the High Court in London he obliged the then Chief Constable, to admit that this earlier search and seizure had been illegal, and to return the seized property, abandon a prosecution and pay £10,000 damages and £4,000 costs.

At the Harrogate court on November 11th the police agreed to return 694 items, but since a further 13,000 items are still unaccounted for there may well be recourse to judicial review. Also CJ has put in the hands of defamation solicitors eight references to him in the August 2008 issue of *Searchlight* which depict him as a terrorist where as he has never been charged or convicted of any offence of violence.

Just before this issue went to press in the second week of the New Year, Nick Griffin demonstrated conclusively why he is unfit to be a Member of the European Parliament. In response to the Israeli aggression in Gaza the BNP chairman said: "It really isn't any of our business." Other statements by Griffin and his "legal adviser" Lee Barnes have positioned the BNP as the most pro-Israeli political party in the UK.

While it is perfectly sensible when fighting a local council election to steer clear of irrelevancies, foreign policy is an essential aspect of the European Union, to whose parliament Nick Griffin seeks election. To describe the conflict in Gaza as "none of Britain's business" is absurd. Israel was created out of British-mandated Palestine in the first place, and could not exist without the support of Britain and America. The U.K. approved £20m of arms sales to Israel in the first three months of 2008 alone: current British policy in the Middle East and in the broader "war on terror" is something on which a political party is obliged to comment.

If Nick Griffin genuinely believes that policy towards Israel has no impact on Britain's national interests, perhaps he should take time to study the work of the Oxford scholar Dr Elizabeth Monroe, who wrote of the 1917 Balfour Declaration committing Britain to a Zionist state: "Measured by British interests alone, it is one of the greatest mistakes in our imperial history."

It is a strange paradox to find the leader of the Liberal Democrats, Nick Clegg, prepared to be more forthright in his comments on Israel than the leader of the British National Party, Nick Griffin. The truth is that Nick Griffin is terrified to say anything critical of Jews, lest it remind voters of his past as a radical anti-semitic and national socialist. This ultimately cripples him as a political leader.

Peter Rushton, Manchester, England



Movie Review: *Hunger*

Released UK - October 31st 2008; Produced by Laura Hastings-Smith & Robin Gotch; Distributed by Icon Entertainment, Pathe (UK); director Steve McQueen; running time 90 minutes; Rated 18; Available on DVD (UK) from April 2009.

Hunger is a powerful but startlingly brutal account of life in the infamous H Blocks of Maze Prison, Northern Ireland, in 1981, where IRA terrorists are campaigning to be recognised as political rather than criminal prisoners.

Their protest has seen them abandon their prison uniforms as part of a 'blanket' strike, named after the coarse blankets they are left to wrap themselves in, and forego bathing as part of a 'no-wash' strike. Living in their own excrement, the prisoners, and the guards who watch over them, are in a pretty bleak existence, and visual artist turned first time movie producer Steve McQueen does not hold back from showing us the true horror of the situation.

Steve McQueen - no relation I'm sure of the late American actor of the same name! - is a hell of a strange director for such a "White ethnic" movie like *Hunger*, as he is a "Black Briton" of Afro-Caribbean descent. He claims, as a young lad growing up in multi-cultural London he took a keen interest in the IRA hunger strike. So much so that over twenty five years later he wrote/directed a movie about it!

However, credit where credit is due, what is so impressive about this movie is that it takes a part of our recent history that most - English/British people - would rather forget and plays it out in all its horrific truth. McQueen, who co-wrote the movie with playwright Enda Walsh, directs an under-glamorised and under-emotional portrait which never names a hero. Rather than confront us with constant needless violence, he punctuates scenes of aggression with relatively wordless scenes of mundane activities in prison life, including an elongated scene lasting several minutes in which a prison guard mops bleach onto a urine stained floor with all the practised mindlessness of a road sweeper.

Hunger doesn't delve deeply into the politics of the situation - to do that would take a 10-hour lecture rather than a 90-minute film - but it does search for the humanity in a situation which is full of inhumanity.

The viewer - and I guess most who go and see it will know little or nothing of the truth behind the hunger strike - is given no explanations, apologies or luxuries, just as they are forced to watch the brutal beatings of prisoners, so are they forced to watch as a prison guard carefully removed his rings before washing the blood from his knuckles. Prisoners and guards alike have fallen into a casually callous routine of violence and hatred.

The prison guards, with no loftier reason for being there other than a pay packet and a fading sense of duty, have to maintain order by any means. They are the brutal oppressors of the movie, but it's a brutality that comes from having to control a prison population that is fighting a war against authority. They can't really do anything else.

The movie has a level of ambiguity - *Hunger* is not about republican versus loyalism, or Catholic versus Protestant. It is the manifestation of what happens when two extreme opposites collide, a caricature of a clash of ideologies.

The so called "Troubles" in Northern Ireland represents one of the darkest chapters in recent "British" history. On screen it has been treated with varying degrees of success, ranging from misguided left-wing Hollywood nonsense such as *A Prayer for the Dying* (1987) and *The Devil's Own* (1997), to much more substantial work like *Elephant* (1989)

and *Bloody Sunday* (2002). The latter being the very last movie I ever watched on the big screen in the States, before returning to dear olde Blighty. *Hunger* - as far as I am aware - is the second hunger strike movie to be made, the first being *Some Mothers Son* (1996), starring Helen Mirren - which like *Bloody Sunday* I first saw while living in the States.

Hunger pivots around a stunningly-developed ten minute central scene, shot in one continuous take and focusing on sharp dialogue which throws the relative muteness of the surrounding scenes into contrast. Bobby Sands - the leader of the IRA prisoners on H Block - (a credibly clear focused and delicately tender Michael Fassbender) calls Father Dominic Moran (excellently played by Liam Cunningham) to see him and informs him that he plans to lead a targeted hunger strike.

After some light hearted conversation Moran warns Sands that he sees his actions as suicide and a desperate escape from the uninhabitable conditions and brutality, but Sands argues his case and is determined that he has no choice but to martyr himself for the Irish Republican cause. It is raw debate, and, typically of this movie, is inconclusive.

Having determined his course, the rest of the movie is a dedicated depiction of Sands strike and his slow deterioration into starvation. Watched over by his parents, brother - who is still to this day active in the Irish Republican movement - and his son, Sands deteriorates, and after 66 days on hunger strike, dies.

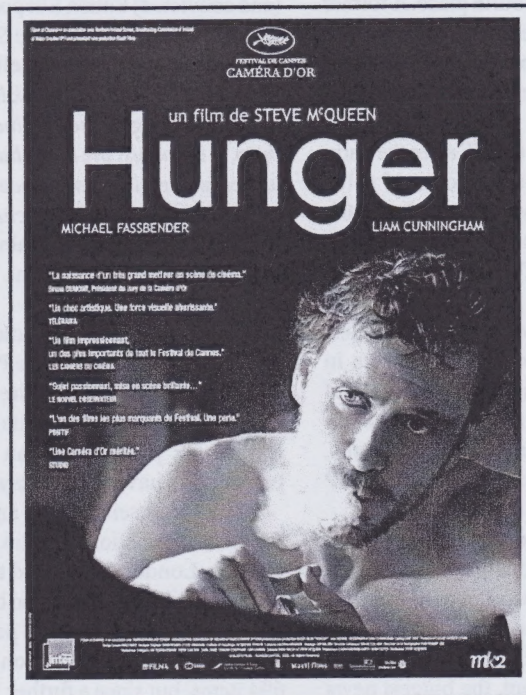
There is no mystery to this movie, and it feels like a slog just to get to the end. With no strong characterisation to drive some humanity into the movie we are left with a stark portrait

of life at its lowest ebb; life we usually prefer to keep behind walls rather than on the big screen. But while McQueen's first feature film is far from perfect, it is both challenging and focused. There is a strong vision being played out here and it is very effective.

While it isn't compelling - rather purposefully repellent - it does feel strangely good. *Hunger* is a refreshingly un-flashy look at another world that is both historically and geographically closer to most of us than we would care to realise.

So is it worth watching? As somebody famous once said; "The paradox of art - how can something that we find painful and disturbing to watch also be enjoyable?" In my humble view - yes it is. If you can't find it on the big screen (I had to go over to Wigan to see it as no cinemas in this area showed it) get it on DVD.

Reviewed by Mark Cotterill, Preston, Lancashire



Imperium & Vanguard

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